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THE people in their corporate capacity are competent then and then only to separate capital from politics and unite it with labor, to which it belongs. This procedure is in harmony with a republic, and the right and only rational way to settle the industrial problem.

A people that can be trusted in their own political affairs without a King, can as reasonably be trusted in their own industrial affairs without a capitalist, and yet be kind to both King and capitalist.

W. T. F. SMITH, M. D.

THE PEPOLES' INDUSTRIAL BUSINESS

COMBINE

A BOOK FOR THE HOME

Combination Having Self-Interest as a
Center of Radiation

VERSUS

Competition Having Selfishness as a
Center of Radiation

BY
W. T. F. SMITH, M.D.

The Only Way of Permanently Settling the Labor and
the Liquor Problems

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By W. T. F. SMITH, M.D.

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

To my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, who have an especial interest in the perpetuity of our republic.

To the public schools of America, in which it was my privilege to teach for sixteen years.

To the medical profession, of which I am a graduate.

To the Knights of Labor, in which, in my younger days, I was a master workman.

To the Christian Church, of which I have been a member for fifty years.

To those willing to wave forget and forgive the impositions and wounds that competitive fighting has inflicted on both rich and poor, and with a gallant optimism accept it all as preparatory training for the higher form of civilization—the adoption of the People's Industrial Combine.

? ? ? ? ? ? ?
If there is no method being tried to permanently remove the *cause* of the child-like quarrel between capital and labor, is it not high time for men of affairs to help, and at a point where help is needed?

Is contention to forever continue between labor and its capital, or will the sober second thought of men lead them to stop fighting and act with the good sense of business rivals and combine in the business interests of both?

If object lessons teach anything, what do you learn from the inevitable success of combines?

Can you think out any good reason, Christian or political, why a People's Industrial Combination should not succeed?

If Industrialism proposes to be both permanent and progressive and to gather together all the filaments of industrial good and weave them into the Commonwealth of the Combine, does it not offer to both rich and poor a better state, and as much better as the whole of any good is better than a part?

If labor and capital are united under one management, will not the same splendid results follow that even now come to a like combination of capital? If not, why not?

If so-called capital clearly includes much of labor, as it now does, and that from necessity, may not so-called capital include all labor? And *vice versa*, if so-called labor clearly includes much of capital, may it not include all capital?

If civil and military government are but the tools of the people, and as such have only a special use, and are each good and serviceable in their place, why should we continue to show our ignorance and disgrace these good tools by trying to use them in our industrial proceedings, for which they are not adapted? Is not industry fundamental, and can it not make industrial tools also?

If a people have sufficient military prowess to gain their independence from a king, and have brains enough to formulate and maintain self-government without a king, can they not now be trusted with their own self-interest in industrial matters without a capitalist?

If men must eat to live, is it fair to permit one man to withhold entirely or dole out food as he chooses to another man? Does not he who owns the food hold an unwarrantable control of the life of the other?

If you try to answer the question, why did not the Government, in either its military or civil capacity, continue to own and operate the transports after the close of the Spanish war? will you not discover an innate fairness in the hearts of the people, forbidding that a great nation should be guilty of competing against a lone individual or a corporation? We are fair to others, is it not a pity we are not so to ourselves?

Does not Government ownership, Government production, Government distribution, imply a condition of war, hence not suitable, desirable or practical to a condition of peace? Is not the People's Industrial Combine better, in that it exactly fits all the conditions of peace?

If it is too big a job, or too long to wait for us to reconcile men to any political party or religious faith—need we wait a single moment on this account to offer them The People's Industrial Combine, knowing it to be to every man's financial interest, friend or foe? May it not be that this financial point settled will pave the way to political, social and religious friendship?

If the rapidity of our advancement in Christian civilization is definitely indicated by our willingness to co-operate in industrial procedures, do we not also please the Author of Christian civilization by the adoption of the Industrial Combine, which is based on the "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"?

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INDUSTRIALISM includes both capital and labor and places both under one management. It is industry "setting up" on its own account. Are you an Industrialist?

While I am optimistic, I would be remiss in my duty if I failed to show to professional men that their co-operation and comradeship is necessary to the expected success of the Peoples' Industrial Combine. We have got to a point where the industrial fate of the nation is contingent upon its sincere professional men as peace-makers. The so-called laborer and capitalist can never fight it out on the existing lines; an entirely different method must be adopted. Each has learned the other's tactics, and is prepared for any and every attack, and it seems that capital at least has got to understand the other so well that they do not want peace because strikes are more profitable. We cannot blame labor for striking, but when it has become for the sole amusement of capital, it is time for the public to protect itself. Labor is in a dilemma; they may not all be quite ready to admit it, but it's true, all the same, and they need a friend at this very critical moment. Admitting that you have not been asked, is it kind in you to wait for an invitation or formal introduction, when such an emergency is on like a house afire, especially when your own house is endangered? Again, may it not be found practically your cause as well as theirs. Aye, may it not be really your cause more than theirs. I think it was Professor Jordan of Stanford University who called attention to the fact that bricklayers were getting as much wages as professors. Well, why not? Both clearly should have all they need (but I will not argue this view of the question here). The significance that capital holds education in such contempt does not entitle it to your continued friendship. It is becoming plain that capital has no use for a man at all, and more especially for one it cannot use in its business. If the public do not lay hold of this industrial problem now, I prophesy that in the immediate future combines will so manage that they will not need learned men of any profession—simply enough unskilled laborers to run the machines (Chinamen will do, if Americans strike and annoy capital too much; it will be but mere pastime to break down the Exclusion Act), and if we object, it will be but to put it to a little extra trouble to hire enough soldiers to keep the peace. This is the dreadful sequence of the uncontrolled combine, yet you know that capital is but a passive instrument, its combination is now being used as an instrument of slaughter, but it can be used as an instrument of righteousness, and that it seems to have been designed by God Himself to save the people. The "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so even so unto them," in its material significance intimates a time just at hand, and the adoption of the People's Industrial Combine. My purpose will be seen, as you study with me in the different chapters of this book—to unite all classes in their own industrial interests, giving every man a chance (the competent to help the incompetent if need be) remembering that one man has returning wants as well as another. We must not maintain the attitude of a cold, critical spectator any longer—our hearts must warm for the man as a man.

INTRODUCTORY

I have reviewed the letters and postscript notes of Dr. Smith with very great interest and satisfaction to myself. All of us have been provoked by the imposition of wealthy corporations on the one hand, and by strikes on the other, and still more perplexed by the question, How will the growing differences between labor and capital ever be amicably settled? To put either in complete control would be but to grind the other to powder. Arbitration is only momentary in its effects, as conditions may change with the speed of lightning; a telegram, cablegram or telephone is sufficient.

Combines, though they include, as they may, all or any one class of interests, as all the railroads or all the coal mines, etc., serve but to add oppression to the already oppressed *masses* of the people. Any of us can see that these combines are a *Godsend* to those in them, but it is just as clear that it is death to those *not* in them; so other schemes of settlement have crossed our hearts and minds, but in all of them there was a fatal *if*; that is, if the other side to the parties in interest will agree to it. But their selfish interest being opposed to any and every plan, of course selfish interests carry, and every present agreement is made under the protest of some, and the facts are we are farther apart than in the dark ages "when ignorance was bliss, hence it was folly to be wise," so it seems we have grown apart in our financial interest about in proportion to the increase of our intellectual growth. Human progress has made phenomenal growth in the aggregate, yet while the rich are richer and gloat over it, the poor are poorer and are more conscious of it than at any period in the history of the world. Dr. Smith has pointed out the fact that there is one thing, and *only* one thing, that all men alike will follow—and that is their own financial interest. This is applicable to the man worth a half a billion and to the pauper in the alms house. Make it to be the business interest of all to adopt any *one* thing, and you enlist the attention and co-operation of all, from the billionaire down. What is this? He answers the common every-day business combine. Its very nearness makes it the more startling. Yet, like some of the most valuable mechanical inventions, it is all the more marvelous on account of its simplicity. The Doctor's method of notifying the people, by a personal letter, of their good fortune of having a home, and steady and honorable employment in the support of that home, so near as only to reach out their hand and accept the title, and enter into their possession (and that without injury to any but really to the business interest of all), is both politic and friendly. We read letters of our own with peculiar interest and attention, and feel that we should do as requested; and so it is our privilege here to read the letters of others. Also, the repetition of the main points rivets them in our minds, but I commend to you, not only the end in view, and the method of reaching that end, but the spirit of his presentations. There is no mind so biased or prejudiced as to call him unfair. Again, when our civilization and business methods and interests unite, and go hand in hand, as they should, then, instead of civiliza-

tion having to fight its way, as it now does, Liberty will indeed enlighten the world. Progress has been progressive heretofore, but as he so aptly says, in spite of rather than because of our business competition. Though he may seem drastic and merciless in his attack on competition, and its thoughtless adherents, yet he saves us from pessimism by his abounding optimism. Then he is free from namby-pamby methods of party reforms. The book is delightfully free from cant or repulsive sentimentalism, yet has an underlying, moral philosophy which gives character a chance, that it cannot have under competition, to develop in both the young and old.

Then, he not only makes the age of combine so delightfully near to us, but coming from such a new and unexpected source, it is like waking up tomorrow morning and beginning to act out our self-interest, which most writers on labor and capital have fatally confused with selfishness. He has pointed out that self-interest is necessarily broad, magnanimous and philanthropic, and fully equal to the task of settling the vexed question between capital and labor, and in such a way that it will forever stay settled; and that purely and exclusively on the business lines of the now present combine. No one letter contains all the points, yet almost any one of them puts the subject plainly and tacitly within easy reach; especially is his letter to the rich, broad, argumentative, conciliatory and convincing. All other writers on the labor question have left us with no explicit remedy; their agitation and vigorous denunciation have only caused greater vindictiveness between labor and capital and general unrest among the people, but he, without agitation, opens up a peaceable, practical solution of the problem, so near like just stepping over a line from a condition of privation into a home, or from enforced idleness, into employment self-respecting and self-supporting.

Dr. Smith has struck the keynote of Christian civilization in taking self-interest and making a clear-cut, well-defined, rational and real distinction between self-interest and selfishness, with its discordant inharmonious sounds which come from the very bottom of Anarchy, Nihilism, Communism and Socialism, until we had about made up our minds that we had no ear for music; and as we look down into it, how very few would think of basing a government on the pure envy and selfishness of Nihilism, or even Communism, a little better, but yet lacking, in this, that selfishness and hatred are behind its every movement, demanding a division of property with the intent of squandering or having the liberty to squander that property, on their own lusts, by holding all property in common, leaving the lazy, indolent and vicious to act according to their own will.

Also Socialism, better than any of these by far, yet lacking in the apparently undiscovered difference made between selfishness and self-interest as a purely business matter, the difference as seen between obtaining property to be enjoyed by the self alone, and obtaining property that another can have and enjoy with us, and that, to the full for both; or to put it more succinctly, to refuse to enjoy property until others are also served, as we do so gallantly at our tables. Civilization itself does not seem to be well understood. Let me make it plain by going back or beyond it: Smith, Jones and Brown, in the far West, have each succeeded in raising a band of horses. Thieves steal them and the men meet to take steps to stop it. They have no jail and they know that nothing is practicable or will be efficacious short of a vigilance committee. A thief is caught and hung on the nearest tree; horse stealing is stopped, but

is that all? No society is formed by Jones, Smith and Brown, and civilization has been from that day to this an effort of the best men and women, to hold in abeyance the incorrigible and dangerous. Christianity has added to this original idea of civilization a tinge of meaning that has served as a kind of word euphony, yet growing in luster until now it seems that its meaning is to be made available in our business dealings with one another, making civilization really civil and humane in its every-day application. The good in men has forever been trying to come to the front, and lead men right, and we find it in its very highest efficiency in this our American Nation, but selfishness still holds the reins, but only by its brazen audacity, doing things under the livery of business, competitive business, doing things that modest men should blush to do, but too often do; so it comes like a new revelation that our real self-interest (financial business) is just entering our door in the person of the Combine. Since we call it to mind we have always heard that "honesty is the best policy," but it has always been followed by the reflection that it keeps us poor and so we have pushed it from us in contempt. But the good news that honesty is competent to make men rich without making them goody-goody Miss-Nancy men, and that it will make women rich without making them coquettish, bold, brazen, scornful or masculine, will be good news to all.

The Doctor has made it so apparent that you get the most money by letting each man and woman keep what they really have, that all may not only get more, but the very most *money*,—not morals, not religion, not sentiment, as good as all these may be, but money, hard clean cash and its equivalent, property; and argues well that this was not practical to any civilization less advanced than we are to-day and that we in our progress have just now got to it.

His plea for the home is not only unique but sincere and rational. A home to forever keep and agreeable work to support the family is a heritage that must and does attract and hold us in attention.

H. J. Boughton, M. D.



Introductory Chapter.

In presenting for your consideration the People's industrial combine, as a medium of conciliation between labor and capital I have no apology to make for the past conduct of existing corporations, except that they have had to compete, and like the man and the State, have had to suffer loss in reputation on account of it, for which the corporation idea is not to blame any more than the man or the State. All three are either directly or indirectly victims of competition, and will so remain until a single combine absorbs all lesser combines and completely supplants competition.

I love the man, the State and the corporation, and I will show my love for the man and the State by my love for the corporation. I love it for what it is—a gift to the man from the State. I love it for what it can do for this man now in need of a friend. I grant you that it has been misused, maligned and *defamed*. So has the man, so has the State, but I am here to defend the ideal man, the ideal State and the ideal corporation, and shall bring up and develop the ideal man and the State by giving to both an ideal corporation. In undertaking to build anything it is necessary to have the completed structure in the mind, and if I do not succeed in showing corporations to you as it appears in its beauty to me, you must not for a moment suppose that it has no beauty rather that the fault is mine in not successfully bringing it out. I hope I can by candor and spirit of fairness cause you at least to suspect that there is a treasure for you and I in the corporation idea and that we need not to be rich to prospect for it. Our failure to get any relief through well managed politics has but prepared us for independence as a whole people in our corporate capacity. This combine idea as I shall now call it is not only beautiful in its conception but it is positive and progressive, and not one that can be brushed aside with "lofty indifference or cool disdain." It demands a hearing on its own account. It is not the product of imagination. The combine is a present and acknowledged fact. The crisis is on. Shall we allow corporations to capture us? Or shall we take them, appropriate them, use them? What will we do? We must answer, we cannot evade the answer.

The fact that trusts exist is notorious and their character is universally understood. Let me say at the outset that the steady march of Christian civilization has brought us up against this red sea and to a point where labor and capital must be under one peaceable management, we can turn neither to the right or left, the Egyptian wolf is after us. We must find a way to go forward and we have found it in this combine idea.

The childish, "You shan't do this," and "You shan't do that," the anti here and the anti there, is not applicable, and belongs to a past age. Political negatives are out of harmony with the positive industrial necessities. We are no longer children but American men, active business men, men of affairs, and must become enthused with the "let there be no step backward." We are only safe in going forward.

Men seek to gratify their desire for food and drink by a method

requiring the very least exertion—that's perfectly right but the mistake that some men have made, has been to compel another to do their share of the world's work rather than by co-operation to reduce the work and to a point where it would be but agreeable, healthful exercise. Again we speak of capital as though it were a something distant and apart from labor. Capital is only stored up food or some passive instrument. Does a family store up fruit to starve themselves?—or to feed themselves? Does society, representing the greater family, store up food to starve the family or to feed it? Capital being a passive instrument of any kind and so is all right and food is all right, but they are intended for all the family, then the more food, fruit, capital stored up, the richer the family in the real necessities and comforts of life, and so contributing to the self-interest of all. So we can see no chance for a quarrel with this clear definition in view. I conclude also that capital and labor are both necessary to a *completed industry*; if so can any man assign a just reason why they shall longer remain under separate management.

Let labor-saving machinery go on unhindered and reduce exertion and increase production until labor fades out into grateful exercise and a chance to work will be accorded as an act of courtesy rather than a hardship or humiliation—such are the possibilities of the industrial combine, but it has more in it than a method of business, a principle involved is that civil government can do no more for industry than to authorize it to act for itself as a corporation. This is in accord with higher law, even God can do no more to save a man, a free, moral agent, than to authorize him to act for himself.

I can have no hard words to say against collectivism. I rather seek to induce all the isms to accept the ideal of the combine. I grant you that the conduct of many of the combines have been and are unfair and why? Because of and for exactly the same reason that your city, State or nation cannot be fair and be compelled to get down and compete in industry or fight like cats and dogs and call it business. The industrial combine can eliminate competition and stop the fight. It may not have occurred to you that the distinction is important whether the individual own property as an individual or the nation own enmass, but it really does, even admitting that the Government could legally own productive property, (which it cannot).

We observe that the nation deals with the individual, civil government deals with and protects the individual citizen in his rights. The Christ that gives a definite name to our civilization deals with the individual, so society in trying to think out a way to solve this labor problem must needs recognize the individual as being justly entitled to the highest possible prominence in industry, that of individual ownership of property, and so be the better able to maintain his identity through life and not become lost in the mass of Government ownership. The Government seemed to have been conscious of this fact, that it could not own productive property, so it definitely devised a way, the way of corporation, anticipating very apparently so it seems to me the requirements of society in their industrial relations and exactly suited too, and able to come to our relief in this emergency. So we argue that industry must arrange its own affairs in its own way as all our industrial interests must be the same. Clearly if the matter involved is industrial, surely it must be adjusted by industry. Industrial combines have two distinctive ideas that we wish the people to appropriate and use: first, co-operation of mind and muscle in producing a maximum in.

every department of industry. This, desirable as it is, would be of but little value unless a second, economy, were standing ready to receive this maximum of production, fresh from the hands of co-operation of effort, and to use it without loss in the interest of those who produce it. These two ideas depend upon self-interest (which represents the industrial as self government does the political), which has been almost covered up by the rubbish of selfishness.

Self-interest is the central and most fascinating object in the combine idea. That such an arrangement can be made with another that my real business interest will become and remain his real business interest, amounts to a revolution in the world of business affairs, yet this is just what the combines do and teach, and so are appropriately called trusts. As a matter of simple justice, and in the very nature of things, the advantages must accrue to the stockholders, and I only express a fact when I say that no revelation has ever come to the world of business with a tithe of the benefit to you and I, rich or poor, as the combine's idea of self-interest, not only in precept but also example, if put in actual practice; a principle of business action going out from us, first, last, and all the time, that it may bring back to us the very greatest possible returns. This is the actual business common sense, now being exemplified by the combines all around us, and yet we have been blind to the fact that what they are doing for their stockholders is not only possible for us to obtain for ourselves, and that not only at the end of a long, tedious, doubtful struggle, but rather is ours now by right of production, and coupled with citizenship and while you read this book, you can mentally declare your intentions, and after a little planning we can practically apply for our incorporation papers and enter into our own combine, our own inheritance, if you please, each of us eligible to all the rights of stockholders. I am not so presumptive as to presume that all or any great number of these prospective stockholders will take my statement of the above facts serenely at first or as a sufficient reason for their personal indorsement, or grounds for immediate action; so we desire to enlist your attention and explain as well as we may be able, feeling sure that all of you, when courteously spoken to, as business gentlemen and ladies, will see in the combine the real spirit of enterprise, coupled with your own individual self-interest.

I have offered to me, in my undertaking, a long list of grievances of deep wrongs that must be righted or forgiven, of business falsehoods and abuses that have become accepted as business facts and usages and in some cases even become business axioms, which must be met, but my methods of meeting them will be progressive, and I shall avoid negations, arguments of already accepted facts and shall, by offering you at once the new induce you to voluntarily give up the old gladly and willingly for something better. Such is my abounding faith in the position I now take, that I can well afford to be fair—yea, even most liberal, knowing that I do not need, by laborious arguments, to recommend the combine idea, but rather to only set it up and clean off the rubbish and bring out the lineaments of face and feature and it will recommend and speak for itself. I have chosen to take a most optimistic view of the world of business, past, present and future. That I may be able to hold the most superficial reader long enough to be convinced, I must not argue but present the most prominent and interesting facts and I will endeavor to so present the truth that it may indeed be "more wonderful than fiction," and yet try and not be tiresome to either of the extremes of society, both of which (bear in mind) I must necessarily reach—it is expedient, therefore, that we shall reach and entertain first, so

that we may converse pleasantly as we proceed. Permit me to request you that like to read fiction, to read "Fell in Love with His Wife" by that companionable author, E. P. Roe. Read it to get an inspiration. From the analogy of the marriage relation between the people and their own industry, as foreshadowed by the lesson of the combines existing all around us, and ready to be and really are our own for the claiming, I am the better pleased to have you startled by the close proximity to so good a fortune. See in his readable romance the contract made before the justice of the peace—ours at the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and after an odd and enforced estrangement for a few years—ours for a century and a quarter. How naturally easy it was to adjust legal proceedings when once the consummation was mutual. Reference to this love story is made here on account of its analogy teaching a lesson that may seem incredulous to some, yet who cannot be gained in any other way than through a story. My desire is to turn the attention of all to the industrial combine. But what need of fiction to enlighten the American people, or to induce them to adopt an instrument now in every day use and recommended by all who use it. Stop here long enough to ask yourself why should it be thought a thing incredible that we the governing power in America should own and control our own industry? Ah, it's worth your while to read my book from beginning to end to see how much can be said to induce every class to adopt the combine; if it can relieve don't you want to know it? The power to create riches may become just as much a part of American virtue as the power to create good government, so I come to you with a definite proposition for all the people to incorporate for purposes of business just as any other incorporation; then all the advantages of combination will accrue to all the people for all will be stockholders.

I am mindful that there has been great severity of expression used by what has been known as labor on the one hand against what has been known and personified as capital on the other, and vice versa, and as aggravating to both as it has been useless. Such have been pleasant to the ear of some, perhaps, but never decided an issue, fighting is impolite. We find also that the shirking or neglect of duty on the part of and what really and emphatically belonged to the business world, our business self-interest as seen in the physical health of our citizens, has become so appalling that morals and religion have been called out of their proper sphere to take this purely business matter up, and have been thus made the subject of ridicule and a byword; so that now if we were called upon to mention three of the most unpopular words in our language, we would without hesitation say, labor, prohibition and reform—all good and very good in their place, but as "matter out of place becomes dirt," so have these become unpopular, and there is nothing to be gained by longer denying the fact. I speak plainly but kindly, as a man may do to his friends.

Again, my observation, both in and out of the school-room for I was sixteen years a teacher, is that the teacher who continually says "don't" is a failure,

Action is a real relief. Labor, if agreeable, is known by another name, exercise. Our nation has the "go" in it—we make money as individuals, but strangely enough a few get it; labor takes it cheerfully, hoping by a repeated and greater effort to make some more, yet the other gets it again, and we try again, but finally say "It isn't fair." and strike. But, I ask again, "What are we going to do about it?" There seems to me to be only just one rational thing to do, to supplant the combines by the people's industrial combine and

thus enter into the possession of and direct all of our own industries then these experts will see this real self-interest and so use their talents as financiers to lift up all the people and themselves among them. That seems reasonable, you say, if they can be persuaded; yes, and we all say is most desirable and so is worthy of an honest studied and diplomatic effort. We should continue to be progressive as a nation, so we must encourage not only our producers, but our so-called financiers also for their self-interest is the same. We have been successful so far on account of the energy of our people—we must not, we need not restrain their energy, only direct it into channels where it will do the greatest good for all of us. Do you notice that the objections to the combines come from those who are not in them, and largely because they are not in them—if we were in them and enabled to contrall them our self-interest would be allied with them.

You may see and interpose many difficulties and hinderances, to a combine vast enough to include all the people, but this book is written to help you to see all these difficulties yet more clearly, so that you may be the better able and fully competent to remove them. We must know the facts, so that we may valiantly and loyally and legally meet them; and I will not willfully dodge or fail to meet a single objection to the immediate formation of a combine, Talk as they may the masses believe in the combine though they may say alas, it's not for me. but let it be our business to persuade those who are honestly or willfully or for any reason opposed to the combine, either to turn in and help now or keep still while we proceed and join us later.

Boys and girls at school are not persistently contrary because they want to be obdurate; as teachers and directors we must have diplomacy sufficient to smooth them down the right way, pleasantly and for their own self-interest and ours as well, aye, we are all children of a larger growth and the very best way to get along with us children of any growth is to let us do as we please. When we reflect that self-government is "doing as we please" in political matters, can we not trust ourselves to be turned loose in industrial matters also? The maxims of self-government enunciated by our fore fathers, the suggestions made, the rules laid down, were no doubt very high sounding to some, it was questionable then whether a stable government could be raised to such a plane as a trusting of the common people, suffice to say here it has been done and so far, proved successful, but we still view with alarm the effect of an old world poison "the survival of the strongest" working its appalling effect through the veins of our industry thus attacking our self-government, so that we are compelled to admit that competition in business must go or self-government must fail and competing combines is not a remedy.

As we see ourselves as individuals or little combines champing the bit like a spirited horse, as if inviting some one to get on and hold the reins to keep us from running away with ourselves, or as producers from stealing our own productions if you please, is it any wonder that some skillful men do get on and work us for all we are worth? Let us all get out of such ruts and get a clear conception of and then adopt self-interest as a center of business procedure; then we can trust each other as implicitly in industry as we do in self-government.

Selfishness and self-interest may have been a little mixed in our past history, but we have now come to the parting in the way, let us turn to the right and leave selfishness in industrial business relations and adopt self-interest, as our fathers left monarchy and

adopted self-government, over a century ago, can we? Yes, for combines are now doing it.

Exercise is considered healthful only when occupied with its full reward, that is, to all its productions. Exercise becomes work when it gets only a part of its productions; that is wages or partial dividends; exercise becomes menial labor when some other fellow gets it all and simply feeds us that we may work for him another day. Do you begin to see why the reformer that stands up and talks so fluently about the dignity of labor is unpopular with the men who labor? The dignity is not in the labor, it is in each doing his or her fair share. My reason for referring here to Prohibition is to later on show that what we shall eat and what we shall drink must very naturally become the studied business of a properly appointed board of health and with power to act and direct and this power can only be given it by a legal business combine, a combine whose real business interest it is to see that every man, woman and child is at their highest physical efficiency, able to do their fair share of the combine's work. The fact that a man here and there can carry a hod every day and yet live longer than another who carries no load doesn't prove anything. The fact that one man can load up with whiskey and yet live longer than a teetotaler doesn't prove anything. We must needs go deeper or at least first get onto knowable grounds, and grounds that touch our present and prospective, our immediate and remote business relations, the relation of the physical man to business affairs, as well as the moral character and true manhood.

Now, as we all know, it can be nobody's business if a man chooses to kill himself with 40-rod whisky, or so wreck his body that he becomes a public charge. We do take care of him as a pauper but why let him get so low? To be sure some kind-hearted woman may come along and tell him he oughtn't to do so—so he resolves to quit, but "the road to hell is paved with good resolutions," or an affectionate clergyman persuades him to sign the pledge, he does so, but a man weak enough to get drunk is not strong enough to keep a pledge, or a Salvation Army man recommends salvation—if he gets it, it is efficacious, but there is the rub. Do you say pessimism? These are all right, but they are not enough; a secular tribunal is necessary to secular law; moral suasion is not enough. The Board of Health, backed by law, must come to his rescue. Place a man in pleasurable environments, and he loves to enjoy it and so needs all his senses. If a man works six or eight hours in a dark mine give him the variety of an ideal home as good as the doctor's or the lawyer's, and he will not take narcotics to get a glimpse of green swards and flowers and sunshine; he can have all these without the hallucination of whisky, a man going to an entertainment does not take a sleeping powder, we must not ignore the fact that the only time millions of laboring men can feel that they are really living is when they can get away from their real life by going on a drunk. We could not blame a man for this if he were living in hell, but remember narcotics will not be needed in heaven; let us combine and by co-operation make earth a place of beauty and a joy forever and without whisky.

It's an old story, but a new victim of suicide the other day in an Eastern city leaving a pathetic will: "I bequeath to my wife a broken heart, to my children the fact that their father fills a drunkard's grave, to my brothers and sisters the record of a misspent life, to father and mother such misery as they alone, can comprehend, to society a character they helped me to ruin," Do you tell him to brace up, break away from it and be a man! Why mock him, he can-

not, he has tried it, taken the pledge, resolved and re-resolved and now dies the same. Is society helpless? Yes, and will ever be, until the business combine takes a business grip in the interest of humanity. You can see that in the penitentiary this man could not get drunk neither would he in a beautiful home of his own, if he could not, buy whisky. Shame on the father, mother, brother or sister for making poison and setting it where innocent children (of any age) play and then try to excuse themselves (when the little one of any size or sex comes staggering home poisoned) by saying I told them not to touch it. In the name of injured innocence what did you make it for? Because you had nothing better to do? Then by a little definite planning of a business combine we will give you something better to do. A combine like the Standard Oil can buy out and pour out every gallon of beer or whisky and fill kegs, barrels, tanks etc., with Standard Oil in a night and business go on at the old stand next day just the same and nobody drunk. The people in their co-operative capacity can get rid of whisky and it's not only the best way and that by the consent and co-operation of whisky dealers themselves. There is another view: A farmer raises grapes or barley, sells his product for all he can get, as there is now no guiding hand, the blame is not all there; a winery or distillery distills it, the blame is not all there; the saloon sells it, the blame is not all there; the city and general government tax it to almost half of its wholesale price, the blame is not all there; aye, but the blame is on us all, and because we have no plan, no combination of business men whose real business interest it is to have every debauchee up before a board of health, and if he is not physically able to do his part as a lawyer, a doctor, a banker, a statesman, a machinist, a farmer, etc., to befriend the man—I emphasize man, we must hew to the line and let the chips fall where they will, but save the man. It is to the proposed combine's self-interest and in a business sense, to make men strong, able-bodied men as well as manly men morally. Let positive business settle us on a firm foundation, then and then only can we be kind, for equal justice is kindness. Do you begin to see why the reformer who preaches prohibition is unpopular when we know that no matter how good the intentions are, he has not grasped the whole situation and it will not positively prohibit under existing business methods. The combine, as a business corporation, is backed with authority; but it can afford and has the financial ability to be fair, and if we want a man to quit a nefarious business, we give him something better to do we don't turn him out to starve, but we treat him as a gentleman should be treated, buy his wares and do the best we can with them. We must be fair with liquor men, rich men, all men, and we can be. We must control masterfully but kindly.

The combine in operation will have only a purely business signification, but in working up the physical man to his highest perfection, we will give the moral man and the religious man a fair chance to develop also.

If we look around us at existing combines, we will be convinced of another fact, that is, that a combine can run its own business, and also the greater its magnitude the less the opposition will be and the more easily it seems to do it; so with this pointer we need not fall down or even stagger in the presence of the magnitude of the industrial combine, though it does include every atom of productive property in the nation. (No other than productive property is included in a combine—homes are not productive property, hence not included). I am not nearly so much concerned, however, about

the abilities, possibilities and practicabilities of the formation and operation of the proposed industrial combine, as I am concerned about being able to arouse the people to action so engrossed have they become. I believe if we, the people, want it, that the ground will be firm under our feet every step of the way to it; but admitting a movement to be feasible and moving it, are two different things, even in progressive America. "Bacchus is willin'" is not sufficient—existing combines were not formed in that way. We are to get something, in return mind you, and we want to begin while we read this line to be too honest, too proud, too dignified, and too manly, to want something for nothing. Act out your self-interest and it will carry you to it, and it ought not to be difficult for sons whose fathers were brave enough to carry self-government into effect to now carry industrial self-interest into effect under that selfgovernment. I wish, especially, to correct the delusion that all wealth is the privilege of one class of men and ultimately of one man. That may seem like liberty for that one man, but where do you and I come in? (This version is both wrong and disloyal and is the active cause of all our labor disputes). If he waves old glory all by himself, what will you and I do for a little flag?—yet this is just the awkward dilemma that self-government, a republic politically, and an absolute monarchy industrially, has finally got us into. Yes, we are free from the English monarchy and have adopted its antithesis in the form of our government, (ours is a republic), but listen; still we hold on to and practice the monarchical form, monarchical idea of industrial business, just as though self-government was completely exhausted, fagged out, ingenuity all gone, and we had to lie back on the bosom of monarchy to get nourishment to keep life in our little body politic. Rather self-government is entitled to an industrial system of its very own and one in harmony with its basic or fundamental idea, an industrial system that operates for the people and not for a king. Why, bless you, it looks like we had cut loose from the King of England and had gone into the business of manufacturing kings on our own account. I think this is small business for a republic, don't you? Why not go on and carry out the work so well begun and decree that when one of our little kings gets to be worth a million we will say he is of age and give him a little flag and let him set up for himself, aye, we will show that competitive business methods are not only monarchical, hence unfit for a republic, but that they help those only who need no help (who are brainy enough to get along, like a Jew, in any government or without any government) and annihilates those of us who do need help. If we are really married to a republic, let us quit flirting with monarchy—a family row is already brewing all over the nation on account of it. Talk and think as you please there is only one remedy and that is an industrial business combine of all the people.

While not opposed to the honest efforts of both men and women to lead others to an active Christian life, I believe a man can be fair in business dealings, whether he is a pronounced Christian or not. The church has no "corner" on the golden rule (it's purely a business rule) and when it once dawns upon us that self-interest is and should be received and taught and lived up to, then each of us, saint or sinner, may get the best material results out of this life, and that without reference to any life beyond.

The real object of production, is, and of right ought to be, that others may enjoy what is produced equally with us, and we equally with them. "True happiness was born a twin," this we believe, is the native impulse of the human heart, and if we find a condition at variance with this, it has been taught by an enemy, and

we may repudiate it if we will.

We need not wait until everyone becomes willing to adopt industrial self-interest any more than our fathers waited until everyone was ready and willing to adopt political self-government; but we do need to begin to be fair ourselves with every shade and condition of men and women, and persuade kindly, conciliatorily and discretely, and thus exemplify in our own life what we would have them become. A retaliation by labor against capital or vice versa, makes us feel mean, even if we do get even. We can exhibit the spirit of magnanimity, and kindness will be met by kindness and we can very speedily move on and up until inherent self-interest will be not only written in our hearts and characters, but crystallized into statute law, and that for the mutual benefit of the timid doubter, or the now indifferent to his own interest, as well as the progressive up-to-date wide-awake advocate of the combine idea, be he either Christian or infidel.

So you see that the industrial combine may not take the clergyman's calling away from him, but rather enable him to be doubly efficient, adding pleasure to this life and hope for life beyond.

A people's trust or combine is the only remedy powerful enough to avail. Trusts have come to stay. We did not comprehend them at first, but now we know them better. A trust as a principle of economics, is sound and its application when applied in the interests of all rather than a part of the people is incontrovertable. So please follow me through as I try to let the light in, that it may shine on the way from start to finish. I must also remind you that easy reading is not the chief object, but rather to inspire to immediate action; for whether one sees in the future, calamity or prosperity, we will show you that co-operation of effort in securing the combine and in making it (the law) a rule of action, a basis of operation will both avert a possibility of national calamity, and make industrial prosperity more prosperous. We will show that the rich individual need it and when they comprehend it, will not oppose it; and also that the poor must have it to preserve their personal individuality that the wise will see in it self-preservation, which is said to be the first law of nature, and the ignorant, an open door to knowledge. Christians may then be consistent in business and teach unblushingly the person and precepts of Him who said, "If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto me."

Wealth in the possession of a few is inconsistent with every phase of life. Wealth produced by all and spreading its benign benefits evenly over all, is within our easy reach. You need not join any party, new or old, you need not suffer privation in the transient stage of procedure. A combine is formed among business men now easily and works no hardship to any of the parties concerned, but rather a real benefit to all of them; the very same methods, rules and regulations extended so as to include all the people and all productive property is ours for the taking, and is as feasible as a billion dollar combine; and the man that can successfully manage it with positive opposition, what can such a man not manage when once the opposition is taken away! No final settlement between capital and labor is possible except on this basis. Self-interest as a principle and combination as a method of business. Any forward movement, if on the wrong road, leads farther and farther astray, so reform in industry is a misnomer. We must take a new center, self-interest, and radiate from that.

Amendments added to amendments are also irrelevant. It takes a substitute to substitute the principle of combination for or instead of the principle of competition, this is the multum in parvo of the

whole matter. I have sought to make every letter or chapter significant in itself, but yet not complete; and if in reading all my letters and postscript notes you find me repeating, you must remember that it is the privilege of a letter writer to repeat to different friends a matter of real interest to all. This is why I have adopted letter writing to you and not about you, hoping that your attention can be thus gained and your active co-operation enlisted by these personal letters that is to the classes to which you belong, better and more certainly than by any other method.

I am conscious of two facts: that I have not exhausted this most interesting subject, and also that all the people will not be interested in all that I say but believe all will be fascinated by some one thing that I have to say for I have sought to touch everybody where they really live and so arouse all the people.

We are optimistic, because we believe tremendously that every true American wants to do right. "To be sure, "hope long deferred maketh the heart sick," so if we can, we must get at the real cause at once, and I now offer a specific that commends itself—so that by having the text, a million people can mount the rostrum and preach their own sermon and can practice just what they preach.

It has been my studied care to abbreviate as much as was at all permissible in all these letters, preferring to enlist the best thinkers and writers as well as expert mechanic artisans, etc., to take up and carry forward, answering the question, What would the combine do? These men are fully competent in their various departments, and so I gladly rely on them to bring out the very best methods of procedure, who, after having adopted the new center (self-interest), and having forsaken the old center (selfishness), we can then trust lawyers to bring the best laws or frame laws the best suited to develop and maintain us in our advancing civilization. We can trust the banker and master minds in financeering to bring us the very best financial system and just adapted to a republic in this combine age, and we can all trust the skillful agricultural horticultural expert to manage general farming, fruit-growing, gardening, all so as to produce the very most for the labor employed. We can trust the merchants to adopt ways and means, and to furnish the most for the least and just the goods needed. Now that each family have employment and sufficient money to buy with, and it being their self-interest and they having the ability to pay, there will be no bad debts. We can trust the great army of men engaged in transportation to bring from far and near and take our surplus production to those wanting them both foreign and domestic, as they have already learned the paths of trade, let them as gladly and understandingly travel them. We can trust the doctor on theory and practice of medicine as well as hygiene, he being educated for these two purposes, and so we get the best suggestions of the best minds in all the callings, so it is entirely better to state the problem, "Given, the people's industrial combine to find the highest efficiency of my own trade or profession in it." It's no venture to trust to the decision of such self-interested men. The proposition is to simply carry out the well-established idea and common-sense precepts of the combine into society as a *whole*, and wherever I have failed to reason well, you that I cheerfully admit to be more competent, being specialists in your line, must take up the proposition and supply what is lacking, and the combine will be equally efficient to the *whole* people as it is now to a part only of the people and to become and continue to be an aggregation of the best thought of this and the coming ages. This combine is congealed society, and to be actuated by self-interest, be trustworthy yourself, never mind the

other, but only let him do the same.

Another observation, if you but stop to think about it, is that dividends take the place of wages naturally in a combine, so the combine will practically do away with wages, and wages you will observe is all that labor and capital is quarreling about. Will not the combine stop the quarrel? I also cling to the Home for all, with the fond tenacity, not only because it is humane and the best financial investment that society, through its business combine, could possibly make, but also because it is so easily understood by the listless, and we must as society pity and care for the obtuse. Their environments, the past competitive methods, or rather absence of methods, of business, for which society stands convicted, have made many of them enlist in the "don't-care brigade." But we can now reassure them with HOME! and they will take a new lease of life, and it is to our interest that they should, and it is certainly to their interest also. There is no denying the fact, we are in a strong business sense "our brother's keeper." There is a whole lot of religion in fair business dealing. The Bible and the Home are near kin. The Bible might be accepted with a home, but rejected without it; having both (and we can have, if we will), which should the Christian offer to give first; read Christ and see. I appeal to your thus enlightened conscience, if it does not seem like offering a stone to the homeless when he asked you for a fish; it has seemed so to me. Give him a home first, that he may accept the teachings of the Bible also. But if we will stop to look at it fairly, we cannot afford to be indifferent; it is for our own self-interest; and now that the combine opens up a business way it is cruel treachery if we longer refuse. You that are competent to read these lines or care enough to hear them read are responsible to yourself and to society.

Assuring every young couple a home at marriageable age will go a long way towards settling the chastity question.

What I shall say to capital is not what the wage slave has proposed to do to the hated capitalist, but what a friendly industrial combine proposes to do, friendly to both laborer and capitalist. We can surely become the architects of our own fortunes, as well as of the poor and incompetent if we will. The laborer, by extending a friendly hand, it will be caught and he be lifted up as if by magic, for such is the ability of co-operated effort. My arraignment of competition, planless business, would be an innocent affair and absolutely insipid, as such arraignments have always been, if I were not to go a step farther and put something better in its place. A drowning man is justifiable in holding onto a plank until he can get a lifeboat and so men have not been so much to blame for holding on to competition. But what are we to think of a man now who deliberately chooses to stick to his plank and make fun of this lifeboat on account of its color or of the personnel of its crew.

It is practically impossible to discuss the industrial question without incidentally touching morals and religion, yet for good and sufficient reasons the combine must be discussed from a business standpoint. Sam Jones' "Quit your meanness" may be good advice, but something else must be just at hand, for men must have something to do. Give them plenty of the good, and even so-called mean men will prefer it, never fear. "Speak to the people that they go forward" is the language of God, we believe, through the combine. If there is anything progressive in existence, it is seen in these private combines, which are forerunners an earnest of our possessions and of the industrial combine, which is even now ready to be inaugurated.

I have noticed but briefly in this introductory chapter points

that will be discussed more fully in the different letters to the classes and in the postscript notes. I recognize this fact, that our people are intensely busy; no time to read or think, except on the fly. A boiled-down assertion catches them, rather than an extended argument. If a thing has been tried and succeeded, they accept it and care but little for the reasoning that leads up to it. The broad assertion of a fact like the PEOPLE can combine, and in their corporate capacity can positively settle all strikes and lockouts, appeals to the flash-light taste of this intense age.

We do well to take people as they are. To go forward is better than to stop and re-form; substitution is better than prohibition; co-operation is better than fighting; voluntary exercise, coupled with necessary dividends, is better than menial labor for wages. Let each one of us take up some watchword that appeals to us and use it in telling effect on all suitable occasions, answering all questions relating to industry by, "What would the people's combine do for us if it were in charge now? Your love of ease, or indifference, or penury, or incredulity, may cause you to hope for some relief from the thousand and one combines springing up like mushrooms all around us, and ask, "Won't they help the masses to fare better?" No; why should they? Combines care only for their own stockholders. Get this fact, I pray you. Get hold of the combine idea. It *can* help, and is only *intended* to help those in them, and if we do not manage to get in, they can and will exploit us for their entertainment.



Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic.

I write you on a subject that lies very near my heart, believing that you, with me, feel a peculiar interest in the continued well-being of the country that we loved enough to fight for. A few mornings ago I awoke and remembered that I had been singing in my dreams, "Yes, we'll rally 'round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again, shouting the battle cry of Freedom," as we used to sing it down in Dixie. The close proximity to the old days almost startled me, and I felt as though I must turn out and answer to the roll call. And then I lay and thought out what freedom really means to the people now! It meant a good deal then,—there was an emergency upon us; our ship of State was afire, and the able seamen, deck hands and passengers all, had a lively interest; but would it not look a bit foolish for all on board to begin fighting a make-believe fire at Liverpool, and fight all the way to New York, just to keep in practice, lest the ship should get afire? Or isn't it just a little cowardly for a man to be "on the brag" when there is no danger near? Didn't we rather expect such a fellow to fall to the rear when there was some live Johnnies in front? Or now in civil life to hear a big burly man tell what a fighter he is, to a lot of women and children? We pity a man who puts on war paint and (like a Chinaman fighting the devil with a butcher knife) thinks there's a battle on; and we kindly send him to the asylum. To be sure a sufficient political demonstration makes the blood run warmer in our veins and instills into the life-blood of the younger men and women the elements necessary to patriotism, if ever a like emergency should arise, as we one by one lie down and sleep while another walks the beat, confident then that our country is safe in the hands of these younger people,—but, as a people, have we no other duty? If not, our duty is little, if any, more than a sinecure now that our political liberty is assured, our very national bulk is a guarantee; so what need to muster. Do not anticipate that I am going to advocate a reduction of the standing army. I would have half a million of trained soldiers ready at a minute's warning, but completely self-supporting, living at home with their wives and children, and in homes of their very own—citizen soldiers in time of peace, and with a real home and family of their own, as well as a country to fight for, in time of real war, if any nation on earth would be foolhardy enough to attack us in the face of these facts. Not but that we should keep our arms ready and our powder dry, and our face to seaward, but this, so important in its place, is not all. We glow with enthusiasm that a Miss Stone in Bulgaria was such an important personage because she was an American citizen abroad, but how about American citizens at home? It has been said that more girls (American citizens) died in one month in the sweat shops of New York than there were boys (American citizens) killed in the Spanish-American war. Is not the life of an American citizen on this side of the water as precious as that of an American citizen on the other side of the water? Is it like us to lie supinely on our backs in the rifle pits and let a foe, foreign or domestic, military or civil, ride over us or decimate our loved ones, and spoil our homes, and we squeak and whine and say we couldn't help ourselves? Yet that is practically what we are doing on the battlefield of industry. We are

really doing that very thing.

If it was said in that olden day, "To be a Roman is greater than to be a king," so now let it be said, and true to the letter: "To be an American citizen is greater at home than if abroad;" greater in the field of industry, mark you, than on the battlefield; greater because he is a man or she a woman than to be a wooden man, an iron man, a wool man, a cotton man, a silver or a gold man; these are infinitesimally small when weighed in the balance against a man with a soul and rights as an American citizen; and so manhood must have the right of way. We of the Grand Army do not get much credit for religious or moral thinking. Our only love is thought to be "the love of country." Yet as we think back over the way we know, whether we get credit for it or not, that it was the love of home that prompted us to step to the front. "Home, sweet home," was the favorite song of both armies. Some of us may not have had a home, but each of us did have lit up within us an ideal. It was the longing for, the pouring out of the soul of the composer as he wrote out the words of "Home, sweet home" that lends to it its charm, and no class of men ever sang it with deeper pathos than the American soldier. I would inspire to action our intense desire, so that we here and now declare that our sons who now take up the watch, shall have a home of his very own. Not rented, or borrowed, or taxed, but to keep for himself and his family after him. Is it not a sad comment on a country that is so nearly perfect in our eyes, that about half of our young men between the ages of 16 and 35, have no home. What is the underlying cause? Our society has never had any combined plan. Men have had to work here and there and everywhere; no permanency in any job. What I want to say to you, comrades, but so loud that all may hear it, that the way of the combine is the only way to a tangible or a material home; and I remind you that the young man that leaves home too often, leaves virtue, morals and religion all behind. Property has no sacred rights now, nor can it have any sacred rights in the presence of your son or mine: not that I esteem property any the less, but the man the more; property is a good and necessary servant, but a cruel, unfeeling and relentless soulless master. Can we be Americans and suffer longer its horrible mastery and abuse?—Americans, and hesitate to set its proper metes and bounds, so that its future accumulations will shine beneficently down on every son and daughter under the waving folds of old glory? Why, bless you, we don't need to deprive any of the present owners of their rations,—not a bit of it, all that is necessary is simply a little forethought of the commissary department, a little previous planning of the heads of the messes, that's all. No foraging, no appropriating, no fighting, just give freemen an equal chance industrially as he has politically, and they will show themselves to be men; and then it will dawn upon us the extent of and what equality really means in that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, handed down to us from our fathers, and which we herewith transmit to our children and transcending with added meaning in its progress from father to son. Industrial equality is the next step in our national progress, and don't you forget it, and we can take it now and be just to the poor and that, without being unjust to the rich. Diplomacy will serve us in peace as surely and as well as tactics did in war. Now if our conduct in peace and war is to be measured by its good effects who shall say which, posterity we will be the most grateful, too, our forefathers for giving us a country, or to us now living, for giving every man, woman and child a home of their very own, and to keep as free as a bird its nest, in this very country of our

fathers. No class of men respects the Southern soldier more than the Grand Army (and well we may), and when we said, with Grant, "Let us have peace," we meant every word of it; and so we would forever set aside any and every cause for war. Now comrades, what mean these combinations of capital on the one hand and unions on the other? Just play? Just a little diversion? All for fun? A little tilting to see if society will not behave itself better? —and if it does not, what then? echo answers, "What then?" We had a country to save, and we saved it; may we not stand now as arbitors of that nation that we saved? and when even a greater emergency is on,—greater, in that it is greater to prevent a battle than it is to fight; greater, in that it is greater to make homes than to destroy them; greater, in that it is greater to free *fifty* million wage slaves from worse bondage (worse in its effects) than *four* millions from African slavery. One may say wage slavery is popular, a kind of matter of course; so was African slavery popular and some called it a divine institution then. You remember it, but there came a time when this country could not longer exist half slave and half free,—so now the time has come when this country cannot live as employed and employer; put that in your pipe and smoke it. Wages and personified capital must go, and harmonious co-operative effort and dividends must take their places. This cause of the present unrest must be removed, root and branch, that the baneful effects may cease: anything less is as mere child's play, and will act but to aggravate. The people are ready for the combine, needing only the grit of the Grand Army veteran to step out, sign the muster roll, and say, "Come on, boys," with a significance that means victory. Tender-handed, touch the nettle and it but stings you for your care, grasp it like a man of metal, and wealth will say, "Excuse me, that's all right; but why didn't you speak out sooner?" and metaphorically say, "I have been waiting these years for a definite proposal, and leading you on lady-like, by object lessons, giving you a combine here, and a trust there, thinking it strange that by my most winning ways I could not induce you to make a definite proposal. I have always known that we ought to act as one; our interests are identical, and we should work for each other, and not against each other. Shall we go and get the incorporation paper now?" This is not mere figure of speech, but a plain, straight-forward business proposition, and to the self-interest of all the people and is what is needed and is of sufficient magnitude to appeal to all the people; this, and this only, can supplant selfishness in business; "we" and "our," must take the place of "my" and "me" in productions and distribution of productions. Producers own everything produced, and the combine is a practical, feasible and purely business way for the producer to get the best results from his own productions. That is what a combine is, and if you see anything wrong about it as a fact, you have the floor.

A central figure is a fixed law of the universe. The sun is the center of the solar system. Man is the center, the head of the animal creation. The President is the head of government. The corporation is the head of industry. All of these are benign in their influence and love, life, light, shine out from each. A blending of industry is a trust, and a trust is a corporation at work. Work and its results comprehend, includes both labor and capital as one. So these centers, God, sun, man, president, corporation, all harmonize in teaching us that there is absolutely nothing short of uniting all industry under one management. Can it not be rational, fair or final for corporations and federations to pool their issues and unite in one only corporation? The President's message seems to say go

on blindly building up corporations, fortify mountain high on the one side, and you have my blessings, and to federations, fortify mountain high on the other side, and you have my blessing. And I ask then what? But suppose he means to say to each when you get big enough, Boys, you can then fight to kill.

Industry includes both the production and the labor that produces it.

Industry, like politics, must be under our management. Labor and capital must be under one management. Self-government has already given a charter to industry, the right to incorporate.

America has had no precedent to guide her in her political youth. She needs no precedent to guide her in her industrial proceedings. To be sure the little billion dollar combines are in the interest of a corporal's guard of stockholders, but our combine is the same as these except in the personnel of its stockholders. Their's excludes us, our combine includes us and them, takes us all in. If you have not thought of it, I do not wonder that you stagger at the magnitude of it, or at its seeming audacity or real boldness of procedure; but calmly now, if five people can combine, and they have; cannot five thousand? If so, cannot all the people combine? No definite proposition has ever been offered to us of sufficient magnitude, of strength to grasp and hold, or of such magnanimity or conciliation as to entitle it to the respect of both laboring men and capitalists. The industrial combine is no dividing up of capital you see on the one hand, or taking something in charity which already belongs to the producers by good right and which it is so humiliating to their manhood to take in charity on the other, what men want is simply an even chance to produce and each keep their just proportion of what is produced. Permit me to impress it on your mind that this is just what the combines are doing every day for their stockholders and mind you they are backed by our Government, getting their incorporation papers from our Government, so we the people's combine will also be backed by our government and get our incorporation papers from our government. You may wonder why it has not been done before: I remind you that everything had a beginning, that nearly all the forces and fashions now in vogue are new in their uses; coal, coal oil, electricity, steam power, telegraphy, telephones—almost as new as your lady's summer hat; so why stand agape at a people's combine?

Let us take just one example, oil. It may or it may not have dawned upon Mr. Rockefeller thirty years ago the magnitude of his combine or the use that we the people now propose to make of his object lesson on oil, to substitute combination for competition as he did. No doubt but that he explained to the refineries, etc., that definite planning is better than competitive chaos, that it meant absolute control of the oil business, true, and that there is no chance for those who remain outside, true, but we give everybody a chance to get in, true, etc. Why did Standard Oil succeed? Because combination in business succeeds everywhere. Mr. Rockefeller simply combined Standard Oil with railroad and became the first billionaire in America, and combination will make "Columbia the gem of the ocean" (as we used to sing). And as I said before, a little well directed grit led off by the grand army, like Grant's, "I'm going to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," will result, as his did, in the people's victory, long before the summer is over. We must needs be definite. This nation was born at two o'clock on the 4th day of July, 1876. A definite thing at a definite time in a definite way. I am aware it took a long time to suitably adjust the minutia, largely because our

fathers had to wage a war. Our delay, if any, will mostly be from our incredulity but this will be largely overcome the hour we declare our intentions; our people will then take heart again. To be sure, it will take a little time to install all our people in permanent homes of their own. I have pointed out elsewhere that homesteads are not homes in any true sense, and also that the impulse to be fair must have a new center from which to radiate and that this new center is self-interest which must needs supplant selfishness as a business axiom. The fight for bread must cease. To work for bread was God's plan, and when we work for it, we ought to have it without a fight. Besides, its no kindness to continue a nefarious system that loads some up (as we have been doing) with an overload of forage, to be captured both soul and body by the enemy; better stop the fight between labor and capital, signal across the field for an armistice at once, and as soon as possible let the good news ring out that the war for bread is over. Why bless you, society is supporting every man, woman and child in America now, and at a tremendous disadvantage to boot; can it not do it many times easier, when all are helping and nobody hindering? All co-operating together as in a combine, one in interest, as we really are. The young men and women want to do the work of America; they expect to do the work of America; why not give them not only a chance but the very best chance. Our people are a thousand times better at heart than their competitive business methods make them, but rather we all would be fair, if the other fellows would. It's "tit for tat," a play for children, but contemptible for men of affairs; and besides, it's the poorest kind of business policy. Self-interest tells us to help each other for help in return. We'll get it only when it's the self-interest of every one to help the others instead of hindering. In devoting this letter to you, my comrades, let me remind you again that political equality touches us only here and there, now and then as in war or threatenings; but the industrial equality of the combine is a legitimate production of our political equality, and will touch us like a mother, continually soothing, refining and improving us by a steady, uniform and loving embrace, an atmosphere to live in, bringing the government of '76 so near to us that we can love it as a material substance, as well as a political sentiment, a tangible material home; not a figure of speech, so that we can, any and all of us from the least to the greatest comprehend that if government goes, home goes; if government stays, home stays. This is real, and no figure of speech and as a home nest is "everything" to the masses, we of sage and sober thought can do no greater service to the boys and girls than to leave them in the possession of the combine. Municipal ownership, government ownership, etc., have not proved a success in many instances; I am told, not because they did not have a vision of the right idea, but because it was visionary for them to enter the field of competition and fight for standing room against selfishness, for government to enter the field as a competitor is irrational and idle. No man, city or government can get down and wrestle with another in the competitive mud and not get muddy; or what better, labor makes a man of straw, calls him capital, and then fights him, others worship him and so all such shallow movements must sooner or later come to grief, and business uncertainty will continue until the government gives the absolute monopoly of all productive property over to the people—not a few or part of the people, but to all the people as individual stockholders in a combine and hold that combine responsible as an individual, what is everybody's business is nobody's business; a combine is a business success and no mistake, and with a congealed, congested, crystalized combine com-

petent to do, able to do, willing to do, with every stockholder, from the one who has an idea above an oytser, to the best financier of the nation, all acting out their own individual self-interest, all helping and none to hinder, we will cool down the now raging fever of the people, public confidence, public interest and health will be restored and perpetuated, and not only political health, but physical health, as we have shown in other letters, will catch the glow. I am strenuous for the combine because it lets in the sunshine on every phase of individual life physical, social and spiritual. It's not only a lift up, but a look up.

You may, with me, like to take delicious viands from ancient and modern history; let me set before you a most delicious and suggestive dish, so that we may be suitably impressed with the design of the great designer of the home, in gathering the solitary into families, families into society, and society into nations. From the history of the nations we gather His design to be in the Hebrew civilization, an object lesson teaching morals, in the Greek civilization, an object lesson teaching morals and nobility, in the Roman civilization, combining morals and nobility with law and order, in the Saxon civilization, appropriating all the good that had preceded it, of morals, nobility, law and order, and adding good breeding, their red blood running down and filling the arteries and veins of men and women, establishing the English nation, with its culture and diplomacy. The Mayflower landed the best English stock on Plymouth Rock, and America, with the morals of the Hebrew, the nobility of the Greek, the law and order of the Romans, the good breeding of the Saxons, and the culture and diplomacy of the English, set up the ensign of self-government, which in its majesty and splendor has stirred all the civilizations to their depths. All along down through our history, our very grandeur and glitter has attracted the best of all nations to our shores but this may not excuse us for overlooking and neglecting our own home nest letting some members of our very own family impose on the others; and now in looking for a remedy instead of chastisement or punishment, like that of the sixties, we think in time, and to better purpose, and so in keeping with our character, reputation and progress, we find just at hand the combine, coming well recommended and which fulfills all requirements and puts that surpluous energy exerted by some to become rich themselves and selfishly so, and at any cost, into a different channel by installing self-interest, as the running mate, the rational companion, and very sequence of self-government, and so putting the whole national family on its own good behavior to trust and be trusted, to combine and be combined. That no other nation has ever tried self-interest as an industrial business center, ought not to stagger us; why should it, for are we not the sons of fathers who first tried political self-government?—they made it go, and we are proud of them; shall our children have as just a right to be proud of us?—in forever settling this war between labor and capital, and in the real interest of all. Comrades, we must set the pace for the ages.

We must make the necessary distinction between a man and capital. We talk of capital as though it were a "living being"—a man is a man, be he rich or poor; the accident of inherited wealth must not obliterate the man—neither must the (poor) man be obliterated for the want of it. We must see that, as labor is simply materialized exertion, and effort is an indivisible part of us, therefore labor is part of the man; but capital is only something that the man has made, for present and future use, hence no part of the man and cannot be personified or loved or hated, talked to or caressed, or listened to as a person. Capital is in one view a machine—man made

it and it belongs to its maker. We call a man a heathen if he talks to an inanimate object, either in love or epithets, we poor prophets of Baal have cried capital, hear us capital, hear us, about long enough. Why should we talk to capital. Man is not a machine, but a force to move a machine. God made man, but we make a sorry mess of it when we make a man, though we use gold; when it is made it is just as proper to call it a calf as a man. A man made in the image of God, is God's vice-agent, is everything; some are wise, but some are otherwise, and really need the help of those who are wise. The wisest are getting together in the combines and leaving us out, think of it, yet these are men, and friends at that, when we show them the respect of addressing them as men, instead of capitalists. When we go to a neighbor's we talk to the man, and not to his house; we call him "Mr." and he says "Come in." Let us all get in right relations with our neighbors, that we, as well as they, can say "Come in;" everybody come in so that the coming age may be an age of manhood, (not inanimate capital) in which self-interest teaches us to lift up other men, so they will be disposed to lift us up, instead of the selfishness that now teaches us to strike down other men in industrial affairs, resulting in our being struck down by a man or men united for the avowed purpose of striking us down. Let us combine and have industrial peace and plenty.

I will close with, to me, the happiest reminiscence of that great war, a little incident that occurred just at its close. Our brigade lay at Tullahoma, Tenn. Gen. Sherman had captured many thousands of prisoners, and our Government was sending them home, home did I say? Yes, though it was but its charred remains (God forbid that we shall let the dispute between labor and capital char any more homes). I could see the trains coming three miles away, wells were few and deep about the depot, and water scarce, I made it my business to borrow from our boys all the canteens that I could carry full of water, and by the time the train was in, I was there and the boys in gray would crowd around me and empty my canteen and tip their hats (like plumed knights that they were) in thanks. A little thing you say, yes, but did I loose anything? No, neither can you that read these lines, lose anything by giving, just like our government now gives not only a homestead, but a real home, a house to every homeless man, woman and child in America, not only because One has said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me." But I will prove to you if need be, that such an act is truly to your own self-interest. You may not believe in future rewards and punishments, but suppose these prove true, would it not be well to just fortify a little while you are here and can and like Abou Ben Adhem, ask by this act to be recorded as one who loves his fellow-men.



What Effect Will the Industrial Combine Have Upon Morality?

I answer this question to assure any that may hesitate in giving it their indorsement. That it will not compromise or in any way injure either their moral character or Christian reputation but be rather helpful to both. The combine is strictly business but it cannot be so exclusive and independent of politics, morals, religion, etc., but that it will have some relation to or bearing on them. I like the combine idea because it does not require us to do any questionable thing.

Franklin once asked the significant question, "What can law do without morals? Then the immorality of lying surely ought not to take the place of a necessity in our every day business procedure. But it is claimed that lying is a necessity in competitive business, in fact we do not expect competition to tell the truth. We teach our children morals and law, and then do we not cancel both, by teaching competition in business? which if tried before a judge of the Franklin type would be found to be criminal also, so that a person who is guilty of practicing competition in business ought not to be over sensitive concerning the morality of combination. If telling a business lie and acting a business lie is the teaching of business competition as it is, then it necessarily follows that telling a business truth and acting a business truth is the teaching of business combination. For combination in business is the antithesis, the very opposite of competition in business; while it is bad enough to cover up defects and deceive by word and action, in all our competitive business transactions, is it not also a bit humiliating? Yes, a burning shame for us to feel and know that we are constantly teaching our children to do the same, and our stupidity becomes amazement when we get the right focus on our conduct, on ourselves, and then to realize that business truth would serve us ten times better in business profits than business lying, surely "a man is a fool that deceives himself."

Combination and its possibilities through co-operation, as intimated by the examples around us are marvelous and beyond our present conception. So, surely, what is the use of lying when the business truth is just at hand, and ready to be told and acted out in all our business transactions? The effect that the people's industrial combine will have on morality is seen then in the comparative effect of lying and telling the truth in the abstract; producing a finer sense of integrity, together with the financial profit of combination over competition. Listen, again, industrial business is unlike politics, it is unlike morals, it is unlike religion, is incompatible with one and all of these, as necessary and good as they are in their place it will not mix, it stands out as distinct and alone as any of these and if it is impracticable to mix church and State, as our fathers taught, so it is to mix religion and industry, politics and industry. No matter to what party, church or moral code or society, I belong, your industrial interest is my industrial interest and vice versa; farther if for any reason we are personal enemies our industrial interest must from the very nature of things be identi-

cal. If you are still in doubt I refer you to the combines flourishing all around you and they are actuated by this very fact of industrial self-interest among their stockholders. Competition in industry is clandestine, is a misconception. It's not only deceptive and in itself, but leads to a fight and immoral practices, as we have seen. Combination is moral and leads towards morality, co-operation in industry leads us intuitively towards comradeship and fellowship and as ye would that men (not angels but men) should do unto you be ye even so unto them. I am only setting old things in a new light, in a business light, where they have not been set before.

It is bad enough to lead people astray in moral and religious matters but what are we to think of a people who deliberately agree among themselves to lead others into the immoral practice of lying, into a material tangible entity of business deception, as definite and specific an object as a wooden god, and metaphorically saying to men fight, fight, fight, the brutes fight and so must you. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen how can he love God whom he hath not seen? First John, 4-20, plainly intimating that such as do not consult his brothers interest cannot please God, but suppose you do not choose to believe there is a God, or that you are under any obligation to him, you are still under obligation to your brother, and we all are, and all are under mark you the most obligations to those who need us most. In view of this fact what excuse can we have for fighting, that is competing against a brother, especially a weak brother, and what objection can there be to co-operating with him that he also may likewise co-operate with you and I in productive industry. I ask you again to study the combine "idea," I freely admit that the little combines representing a small part of the people are unjust and tyrannical to those outside and with whom in the very nature of things they must now fight and such must and will always continue to fight, until industry comes under one management and to be operated in the industrial self-interest of all the people both as to their labor and their capital. The people's industrial combine or corporation. I am asked if all the people are to act in a harmonious concert in industrial procedures, i. e., to combine. Why incorporate at all? Why not let the general government act for them without it? I answer:

1st. To respect what has already been well done. Incorporation is its plan, accept it why not?

2nd. To act legally and recognize existing law and order in business matters.

3. Incorporation is immediate in its relief, no waiting in the cold, or starving while evolution or revolution is squandering precious time.

4th. It appeals to our reason, and we are also now acquainted with this method of procedure, so it's not a new and untried experiment. The idea is correct and we cannot expect Congress to legislate against it and she will not.

5th. Its perfectly adapted for the purposes intended.

6th. It differentiates clearly between political equality and industrial equality, a difference necessary to be made and perpetually maintained. Let politics attend to what belongs to law and industry to what belongs to industry.

7th. To make clear and definite the distinction between a man and his money, or to make definite the difference between the protection of a citizen of the United States in his person, and in his property rights.

8th. To enable the individuals to own property as an individual, and thus enable him to maintain his personal individuality, which

would be most difficult, for him to do if at all, if owning enmass or collectively as a city, State or nation.

9th. To make plain the difference between the selfish competitive exclusiveness of the brute, and the self-interest of the human, between instinct and reason.

10th. Government being impersonal and inanimate is incompetent to own in fee simple. It can only control and that usually for a limited time, as a receiver in civil cases, or a military necessity. Morality is aided by the industrial combine in that it encourages every man to do his best, bringing out and developing his individuality, thus enabling each to win industrial distinction unhindered by poverty or weighted down by wealth.

People are now so-absorbed in making money, in making a living, that they have no time to make a life, a moral character, a fine distinction between truth and falsehood, little heeding, in fact, that we have a self (selfish) and also a better self (self-interest). The fretful strain, for wealth, the intensity of business application, the disgraceful fight, all summed up in one word, competition in industry. For the sake of morality let us relieve our children, our family, our society by harmonious co-operation, by a combination of all our industrial interests, letting each one occupy with glad enjoyment the niche for which he or she is best fitted. Pigeon-hole as combines do into apartments every branch of business, making definite and consequently lighter the burdens of each, and clearer the respective duties, bringing after, the real restfulness of duty finished, a feeling of security, in possessing impossible now, where every one is intent on taking any unfair advantage of every one else. Thoughtfully, is it not a libel on Christianity for us good people? To retaliate and implicitly teach to young and old to follow the example of that man who makes big money for himself, no matter how? Vice is bad enough at par, without a Christian nation continuing to pay so great a premium for it by eulogizing and lionizing the trickster, the schemer, the fighter, directing the thought away from morality. Haven't we carried far enough this mammon worship that makes a few wealthy and worshiped and the masses comparatively poorer and the more despised? Sin is usually but the excessive use of the good. It is Christian to make money, but surely not to the extreme of expiating a fellow-man, and I always want it clearly and definitely understood that we are to encourage every improved method of making a living even. The millionaire, himself, as a machine, is a valuable invention if working for all the people, this improved machine with which money is easily made, and he is America's best production. Let the people utilize him as they do any other invention; if his corporation is good for a few, let the many adopt it. Encourage our able financiers. They now work for a few stockholders; they will as certainly willing and truly work for the larger number. If you don't yet believe try it and you will see. Self-interest is far more conducive to high endeavor than narrow selfishness. Give every man, high or low, rich or poor, an even chance to develop the best that is in him. We can expect great interests only from those who have a stake in the prosperity of the country, so each one must have such a stake.

You say that combines are partial to their own stockholders. Yes, of course, they are and that is their most attractive feature. If so the combine will be partial to us if we are in it if we are stockholders. Each will have a care. A man of right is partial to his own family, and always will be, and the best expression of this partiality is shown by his willingness to combine and co-operate with other men, to get the greatest possible industrial good for his own family.

The man with a soul, the people all, so will finally assist the combine. All this is in harmony with law, and gospel (1st Timothy, 5-8). Clearly this partiality is not to be between members of the family; neither between members of the larger family.

It is the love of money that is the root of all evil. Let us substitute character for or instead of money, love character, we can do it, and put money where it will help us properly, and all of us to build up moral character by helping each to help themselves.



In My Letter to the Rich or Capitalistic Class

I shall studiously avoid offensive epithets myself, and emphatically insist that the day of industrial strife is ended and that the day of conciliation has dawned and with its "as ye would" becoming the opening light of Christian civilization and social progress, each calling for the best thought, and the best impulse of which we are capable.

I will honestly try to proceed in the spirit of fairness to discuss the principle that self-interest, which, being fundamentally right, just and good, is the only secular shrine at which we can all worship, rich and poor alike. Our business training has taught us that it was to our business interest to crowd others down; and against our business interest to lift others up, but if we did lift up at all it was entirely from some religious sentiment and that it would surely work to our financial peril, thus unwittingly setting Christianity at war with finance. It is for the purpose of reversing this sentiment, and that without any violence or injury to the most sensitive feelings or delicate taste of any who may read these lines, that this letter is written. To be logical, I must needs have begun with economics and pro-fight for; and so belonging to the animal rather than human nature. ceded to study economy; but enough has been said along these lines to make them commonplace already, so if you please we will waive a repetition and come down to existing conditions as we find them and try reasoning apriori as well as posteriori concerning the environments that now surround us. We find that we are surrounded by a state of business called competition, from compete, to strive, or This system of business has been bred in us, and so it is not to be wondered at if we accept it as not only the best way but seemingly the only way. That there is really another way, a better way, I venture now to assert. A symbol of our present state of mind existed not many years ago all over the world, namely, that political power should originate in a king. America proposed and contended that this power ought, and must, originate at the very opposite extreme of society, that is, with the people. It was urged that the people were incompetent to govern themselves, but suffice is to say, the new method was adopted and America has been, ostensibly at least, a government by the people. This, please remember, was the exact reverse of the old system. I mention this as a precedent, realizing that these are the days in which precedents or object lessons are required. Now, we have the best form of government and the best one of its form under the sun. We would not change its form if we could, and could not if we would, but mark you it is a political government and not an industrial government. We are only proposing to reverse our business methods or to be accurate and say adopt a method of business suited to and under this government, as our fathers did the form, and to so harmonize with this form that the benign rays of our form of government may direct us in our industries. Competition has been, true to the letter, not only monarchial but pugilistic, and like the hand of Ishmael, "which was against every man," but combination (as now introduced) has a becoming hand, a helping hand.

Competition is negative, scattering, repellant, planless, destruc-

tive, child-like, chaotic. Combination is positive, conciliatory, accumulative, methodical, ideal, manlike. Governments are all instituted for one purpose—the good of the governed. The difference in the form is significant to be sure, but the form, in the presence of the object for which governments are formed, is comparatively insignificant. This fairly represents the magnitude of our present undertaking to show, that a government must do for the people politically all that they cannot do for themselves singly and alone. To be sure, if we had a king, he must govern for the good of the people, and if the people govern, they surely must govern for the good of the people also, and this must needs mean all the people—not simply a part or party of the people, which might mean practically one-half or a bare majority. This bare majority may have been gained by some outside or undue influence, as the use of money or intimidation. Hence, an existing administration of our political government may not represent a majority of the people at all, but rather a rich or influential or otherwise powerful but small minority. So if we would be really loyal to this, our government of the people, we must all see to it that the people are not frustrated in their designs or influenced to vote against their own real political interests, or become mixed up with industrial influences. This is not irrelevant, for it is generally believed that financial consideration, and not men, carry many elections. If so, what has become of the republic our fathers founded? and what should be the name of our present government? I am only asking the question to hear what you have to say in answer. I am writing to the rich who are intelligently competent to answer it. I want them to answer it as loyal citizens of this republic and also to see that the people have just cause for grievance, and to know that we know that they know what the cause of grievance is. And I believe in their frankness and magnanimity and spirit of fairness, which when aroused, will help to set this purely industrial matter right and at once. But lest there be some that want to be fair with us and yet do not understand us as yet, we will more or less minutely specify the change we want to make and its effects upon their person, property, etc., I am writing to those also, who understand the design and significance of trusts or combines and their advantages to the stockholders, yet who may not see that a combine of all industries is applicable, practical or possible. They would admit, perhaps, that if it were, it would be desirable, as the rich are already convinced that in combination lies the secret of their business success, and they are also convinced that old planless competition is not only a failure, but very far-reaching and disastrous both in its failures and successes, contradictory as this may seem; but as we think it out to its final analysis, we will find that its successes are its worst failures, for as straitened and restless as are the poor, you that read these lines know that the rich have missed their aim and are still more nervous and restless; and both alike are entitled to the sympathy, yea, even the pity of the other. Yet our business methods of competition have taught the poor to say, “Oh, if I were only rich, I could be powerful!” etc. So I ask all, rich and poor alike, “What is the real difference at heart between the rich and those who so badly want to be rich? Its a plain case of mistaken identity.

But what effect will the combine have upon property? I ask the question. To say that in no sense is the present every-day combine or trust to be considered synonymous to a community of property. I concur in the statement often made that to divide property equally to-day and leave wide open the privilege of one to sell and another to buy, that by to-morrow some would be paupers and others mil-

lionaires within a week. A division of property will not reach the object in view, neither do we find that government control of property will solve the problem—though that would prevent the one from selling and another from buying. So far, so good, with some modifications, however, to be sure. The government as we have shown elsewhere, really controls in a sense all property now—that eminent domain is a recognized right of all governments—but it does so as a right of political government or as a matter of public political policy, not mind you, as a business enterprise, like, for example as do the trusts or combines, do you see? These are industrial not political. So it is not needful that government should in the least degree change its present attitude, though it may be necessary for it to take charge as an arbiter or receiver in the formation of the Industrial Combine in relatively the same way that it does now in the formation of any corporation.

In a homestead the title issues direct from the government, and, mark you, a homestead cannot be sold, and this very fact makes it absolutely the property of the homesteader (stop here and think; this point may set you right); and so it should continue to be. Hence, the government may first come into possession of all property; but not for the purposes of business, but only that it can thus be enabled to give a perfect title to individual homesteaders and also authority to the one corporation or combine, which, from the very nature of things, can never pass to second parties, hence not salable, because the government is next above the combine, as it is next above a homestead (and as the government must not do business as a business, or operate productive property), hence all property, whether residence or productive, will be held by unquestionable title, and like a homestead it cannot be sold. At the present time all titles to property are questionable, as you know, except patents direct from the government. So I argue our property will be better because its title is better. Again, it is now an open and a vexed question, whether it really pays to own residence property at all, because of the taxes; as taxes are a lien on property hence there is constantly a ghostly unrest and so homes, being unproductive, cannot pay, hence must not have a lien of any kind on them. So residence property will be better property because it is not taxed. (Homesteads are not taxed). Productive property will all be more productive than now, for the like reason that productive property must all be put into an industrial combine or corporation which will make it, by co-operation, still more productive; hence productive property will be better property than now, because it will be *more* productive. Again, men do not only put productive property into a combine to make it more productive, but also to unload the care of it onto others, who are supposed to be as competent and yet better able to manage it than they are themselves. In other words, you are advanced to a point where you can see that it is not necessary to the full enjoyment of productive property, that it should be in separate parcels before you can realize its full possession or that you as owner should exercise a direct personal control or supervision over it. I cannot refrain from asking what better steward could you possibly have than the Industrial Combine, authorized by the government and thus having no possible competitor? Hence, productive property will be better property by being more easily carried or cared for. Again, productive property in the combine will not only be more secure, but it will be as secure as the government itself (an ever-present inducement to loyalty), hence better property than it is now. Again, productive property in the combine guarantees suitable employment and sufficient

recompense in dividends to guarantee the necessary running expenses of the home, which the lone individual or a class combine, cannot always do in sufficient amount. We have no such guarantee now, and in the very nature of things, with every fellow for himself, we cannot have; hence, property is not only better per se as property to hold, but the holding it furnishes also a sufficient means for subsistence. Again, in the combine each and every stockholder will be a party in interest in building up rather than in pulling down, so it will be better property than now. I am reminded that some may oppose the industrial combine because they really take a delight in having victims to exploit, to cheat, something as a hunter delights in plenty of game. I call to mind that the aborigines were great hunters and fighters, but pray, what is civilization if it is not a getting away from Indian customs. To be sure, it may be pleasant to jest of the mighty nimrods, the noble red men, the bold highwaymen, the brave fighter, but, dear me, civilization is not a-going in that direction and we need not make heroes of desperadoes, or financial savages either. Listen, if existing combines say anything to us, they say too plain to be misunderstood, "Cease fighting." To be sure, *they* must yet defend themselves when attacked, but in the very nature of things they can gain nothing by opposition or industrial antagonism, or by keeping you and I out; rather, universal peace and good-will harmonizes with the very ego of their existence; hence we argue that our possessions will be better because they will be peaceable possession.

In infancy, the child depends upon its family; in mature life, the parents depend upon the child. So can both depend on the strong arm of the industrial combine from the cradle to the grave. In any and every view of the case, all property is placed on the very best possible basis that is or can be thought out. Lest there be some that are timid about the sufficiency of the dividend to maintain them in the luxuries of life to which they have been accustomed, candidly let me say that, on business principles, our supplies will be measured by our needs rather than childish wants. Yet, we believe they will prove satisfactory. If, during the transition stage, some luxuries may not be within easy reach, the deprivation will be temporary and may be more than equalized by others quite as agreeable, or if not, allow me to remind you that we are now frequently on excursions or temporarily away from the base of supplies, and our hearts are not broken on account of it. Business may be so gradually changed from the old to the new order as to be almost as imperceptible and gradual as the rising day, so that the now-called wealthy will not be able to appreciate the change except to say, "It was dark, now it is light. I am as rich as ever, with the added surprise, that my once poor neighbors do not now need my charity." Other points may occur to each one of my readers why property will be better under the industrial combine, but I will assert that in no case will it be less valuable than now. Thoughtful capitalists can and do see a time in the near future when they will be unable to dispose of the surplus flowing into their possession as a result of combination—a time when they can have no work left undone, employment will necessarily cease and these unemployed must starve or be fed on charity. This condition will seem like a failure on the part of the rich to do as they are expected to do—that is, to hire the whole world for wages. A time is coming when they can't pay the wages of today, if wages at all, and their head and heart both ache as they try to think out a way, and right glad would they be for the rest, security and certainty of a home and of plenty as the People's Industrial Combine will guarantee.

But the central thought, the magic word, is "Home." It, as no

other word in our language, makes our hearts beat as one. If the combine did nothing more than to guarantee a home to all, it would be entitled to our lasting gratitude and respect. (I have shown in another letter that government homesteads do not do it now and can never do it.) Yet, as we sit and contemplate the home, as even the rich now know it, we shudder as we think that the rich of the last generation are the homeless poor of this generation, with but very few exceptions, and that if the same system continues, history will but repeat itself, and you that read these lines—if not, your children—will, ere long, be under foot. But excuse me for this melancholy, but true to life reverie.

This uncertainty is due to competition, and will continue as long as competition continues, for no matter how rich we are, a richer than we can take it from us; no matter how strong we are, a stronger than we can whirl us over the precipice. Is this industrial government for the good of the governed? Is it kind for the friends of the rich to stand idly by, knowing that the greater the fall the more certain the destruction and permit its votaries to climb higher and still higher? No poor are so to be pitied as those who have been rich. If indeed there is no better way than this competitive warfare, we are all alike to be pitied, but I hasten to say again that there is a better way. If such a condition of body or of such a state of mind would be so unwelcome to us concerning ourselves, or to us regarding a member of our own family, cannot we let our hearts warm just a little for those who are now homeless? We speak of the homeless wanderer but, the wanderer's life is happiness, frequently, when compared with those who cannot wander but must sit in solitude, so hopeless, helpless and forlorn, all because of methods of business that have made some of us vicious, like wild beasts, instead of humane, like men. Do you want it continued? You being rich, may seek for refuge and greater security in a combine, but please remember that you are only a little more secure, even there you are not safe. A richer combine than the one to which you belong can whirl your combine about like a child does a toy. Again you may see it but darkly through the misty twilight, that it is possible for say a dozen different combines to have in their control all the property of the United States; yes, and then, if these dozen combines would all combine into one? So, in contemplating this future private combine, we are lost in amazement at its possibilities and power, and then with an Alexander at the top, weeping because there are no more worlds to conquer. If riches have been uncertain in the past under competition, subject to the avarice of man, who has a soul, though it may be hidden away, what must it be under such a combination with no man and no soul to hide away or to be found, though we do sweep the house and seek diligently for it? I am asked what is the difference between this final combine and the industrial combine. Much every way. (As a monarchy is the very opposite of a Republic so this combine is just the opposite, of our combine). These combines have no souls. The industrial combine is the soul personified, people themselves. But another difference is seen in the contrast between monarchy and a republic, which we intentionally explained on a preceding page, that you may now apply it here. In one case the power originates in one man, the king; in the other case the power originates at the other extreme, that is, with the people; and who could know better what the people want than the people themselves? Happily our form of political government is that of a republic, the people rule; hence our education to that extent prepares us to comprehend and appropriate the simple extension of our privileges as American citizens,

on from the political America to the industrial America; and the private combine of railroads, coal mines, or factories, etc., on into the people's industrial combine, one the people in their political capacity, the other the same people but in their co-operative capacity. These are so many object lessons, showing us not only the advantage but the plain way to proceed legally, in obtaining a combine for ourselves as our forefathers obtained a hundred years ago a political government for themselves and us. Government ownership has been proposed by many. To be sure, as we have pointed out in the beginning of this letter, government ownership would necessarily prevent buying and selling homes and productive property, yet the people must own individually and not the political government, collectively. But, wrapped up in this same buying and selling homes and productive property on which homes subsist, do we find continued and inevitable disaster. This buying or selling homes if prevented, may be dignified by calling it a diversion of the mind, but like tipping, smoking, chewing, etc., the masses of the people have paid dearly for it already. Gambling for example, is for the benefit of only a few, so this diversion like gambling, can cease altogether, without real hardship to any one. Of course I refer only to buying and selling homes and productive property in the support of the home. I am perfectly well aware that I will be met with the "personal liberty" cry, but do not get excited and I will not. We are but children of a larger growth and as such we can most easily be persuaded to take a real loaf of bread instead of the picture of a loaf. A home to keep and a government title for it, instead of gushing rhapsody or childish glee about "a home to sell when I get big," or an interest to keep; in a solid combine which is co-extensive with every atom of productive property in the nation, instead of the existing will-o'-th'-wisp of "you can have the butterfly (surplus property) if you can catch it," and then if you should catch it, it is but to find it a plumed moth, crushed, dying, dead. A life, with a home of your own and all that, that can mean, of family, friends, culture, refinement, a bill of fare, clothing; all, in a word, solid comfort; together with pleasant employment (better than idleness) yet sufficient to sustain and keep the home in perpetuity, instead of some strained relation to large property that you don't know one hour but that the title will be gone in the next, or in the other extreme of life if you live in poverty, degradation and want; in fact, in any unprejudiced view you can possibly take you will be ready to have personal liberty to buy and sell homes and productive property. "Go, why have you mocked me so long." This home and all these comforts are for all, and that within easy reach of all, and mind you that it is now the ripe fruit of, the very next step in our civilization, which civilization has made its remarkable progress in spite of vicious competitive methods of business (what will it not do if unhindered by competition), yet ripe and good, but none too good to be true. Again, if cheating in buying and selling makes rogues out of boys, why pat them on the back approvingly and call it business, and punish them instead for breaking a toy; better call it stealing, truly, and let the toy go. Kindly, have we not gone wrong in our habit of commending the people who have riches; clergymen even hedge by apologizing and explain that they did not mean to say that it was not right for every young man to get rich. All of us know that there is possible peril in getting rich and that it usually leads away from the Christ of Christian civilization. The man, the woman is far more valuable in His estimation. If we walk in "His steps" we find the man because we are hunting for the man, and now that we have found him, and now, if never before sufficiently developed to

be trusted, let us join with him, let us co-operate with him,, help him that he may help us ever to be manly men and womanly women. You will observe that I am not talking about saints or angels, but flesh and blood men, in their industrial relations to each other. Christ in the industrial code laid down in the "as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," clearly had in mind the getting of the greatest comfort and the greatest happiness to be found and as far away as possible from "the wory and the wolf."

For anybody to be poor is somebody's mistake, did it ever occur to you that it is equally true for any one to be rich is somebody's mistake? To admit that we have made these mistakes is only saying we are wiser today than we were yesterday. Shakespeare in his "Shylock and the Pound of Flesh," graphically describes a business man of today when brought up before the Judge (his own conscience we will assume). We each have one, but they are sadly out of repair:

"Nor cut thou less or more, but just one pound of flesh,
If thou takest more or less than a just pound,
Be it so much as maketh light or heavy in the substance,
Or the division of the twentieth part of one poor scruple,
Nay if the scale do turn in the estimation of a hair,
Thou diest and thy goods are confiscate."

I somehow imagine that after this decision that it was much easier for Shylock to reconcile himself to the loss of that pound of flesh as useless to him as two homes would have been, but to the other fellow did need that identical pound of flesh and he did need one home. Why, bless you, I have tried it even. Losing surplus property is not a killing matter even if industrial equality made it necessary to loose property (which it does not by any means). There are other things more valuable than property. I heard of a rich mother who said pathetically, "I would rather lose it all than have my son become a drunkard." Two men talking about it one said, "don't you think that was extravagant talk?" "No," said the other, "not if he were my son." Values after all are only relative.

The manager of a railroad combine does by no manner of means forget himself as one of the combine when he tries to make his combine rich, no more will the rank and file of the industrial combine fail to include themselves as part of the combine when they try to make the combine rich by giving it their best endeavor. It's practically putting both men and money where they will do the most good, helping all and injuring none. When all are employed in production and distribution who are not now forcibly or willfully idle, they will all become rich rather than any poor.

Christ said, and so will you when you get alone by yourself, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth." (and has to take care of). Enough is enough of anything. Solomon said "Give neither poverty nor riches," (as a real miserly load.) A nation of people combined in the common interest of all will make poverty, as we see it now all around us, impossible. I appreciate the feelings, however, of some of the rich that they may be giving up a certainty of conspicuous luxury for an uncertainty; they feel confident in the fact of all these facts that *they* can somehow keep their riches. But let me again remind you kindly that the highest have toppled to the bottom. Mark Twain once said that "when a man gets started down everything seems greased for the occasion." So it might be a good thing for Mr. Carnegie, Morgan, Rockefeller or you, my gentle reader, to fall into a good home, and so never reach the bottom at all. Let us continue to look at it fairly, yet in still another light; as it was with the slave and her mistress, so now

with the rich and her servants. There are two sides to it—if mistress went out empty-handed (which she did not for slaves were surplus property), so did the slave. The slave and her mistress were both free; the slave was no better off, only free. Men may be free and yet not have much to boast over. Hunger, cold and nakedness are still as clamorous as ever, so in a sense no real benefit, but only a valuable sentiment is bestowed; but another step was practical possibly at that time (and aside let me say if Mr. Lincoln had not been prematurely cut off he would have put in practical operation some method which would secure for the slave a home and productive employment, not as a matter of moral or religious sentiment, that some of us are so afraid of, but purely as an economic or business measure. The business interest of the ex-slave was our business interest then, as now. Can you see a similar if not a parallel case in the relation of the rich lady and her servant? You can follow it out ad infinitum. But I will only mention one; the slave helped to earn the wealth of her mistress, and so was entitled, in justice, to some share of it. Your servant helped to earn the wealth you have; possibly as much as you did (I say it kindly), and so is entitled in equal justice to some share of it. But in giving her a home, it is by no manner of means proposed by the industrial combine to dispossess you of your home or your property, but rather to make these more secure—yes, absolutely secure—to you and your heirs, the home not even to be taxed.

The finer your home, the more insecure it is to you now, because others covet it and will take it away from you if they can (this ghastly fact freezes your very soul and you know it); but the industrial combine steps in heroically between and says that you may keep it forever, as it represents your ideal of happiness, perhaps, and we all have our ideals of happiness, and no man should be permitted to lay covetous hands on the home any more than on our person, in violence. That's what the Declaration of Independence means where it teaches that all are free and equal and entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Don't let your Bible and that Declaration be dust covered any longer. Read them; the spirit of these have made us rich as a nation in spite of our barbarous business methods—yea, we are the light of the world, but being brighter than others enables us to yet be brighter still and eliminate all of our vicious, covetous, murderous methods of downing business men, downing anybody, any way to get property—that we don't need any more than Ahab did the vineyard of his neighbor Naboth (I Kings, chapter xxi)—you have the history somewhere in the house, perhaps; hunt it up and read the incident, it will help you, yes, help us all, to see ourselves as others see us. In the light of this Bible reference, let us suppose we resolve in our hearts to be fair. "But," you say, "how can a man be fair and do business at all? We are compelled to meet the selfishness of competition with selfishness or go to the almshouse ourselves; aye, you say, we would willingly be fair, but no, we must fortify; we must get and keep our powder magazine well filled, in pure self-defense. Listen. An industrial combine of all business interests can be perfectly fair, but no individual or class combine can ever possibly be perfectly fair until the combine takes the place of competition. The rich man is largely what his environments have made him—no better, no worse, than other men; but when he wakes up to see that the war now on is between the almighty dollar and Almighty God, he will step over the line on God's side as gallantly and quite as willingly as the homeless, and thus help to answer his own "Thy kingdom come," and the "Thy will be done in earth" will for the first time have its business, in

fact, its only application, for it refers entirely to earth. Here on earth, we, as free moral agents, have the say, but God alone has all the say in Heaven, as well as the ultimate or final say on earth. Look at it: a nation in which every one held a position in its business affairs for which he or she was best adapted, and in which every one was aware of that fact, would be a nation fulfilling all the good promises of wealth; yet you, my dear man or woman, can have it, if you want it, and that without any restless anxiety. In the presence of the "Thy kingdom come" (and this kingdom never did mean Heaven; it means to do as you would be done by in our dealings with men on earth, both here and now). Aye, God's ideal of business if you please, as taught by His Son. Is it not just about as bad to steal according to law as it is against the law? As bad to legislate a man out of a transcontinental railroad or even a small potato, as to slip a loaf of bread? A man of large estate makes a will. After giving his wife a home and a living, and through his continued regard for her, the balance of his large estate he places under trustees, to be used to lift up society to the high level of his wife, and thus enrich her life to the highest possible degree. This is the rational and legitimate sequence of the industrial combine, and does it work any hardship to the rich? In writing this letter I know that I have been actuated by a spirit of candor and fairness; all the people are parties in interest, and must be enlisted, after a man has been kindly consulted he will endure almost anything, if need be; on the other hand, if he feels that he or his interest has been ignored, he is made by this discourtesy a formidable adversary, and even if all are our friends and willing helpers, we have not a single friend too many.

Let us dispassionately ask the question, Does money-getting pay? Look around you. Those who have it do not enjoy it even now, and tomorrow—possibly, today—he must go and leave it. How many do you know that have lost their health in a few years' scramble for wealth when a moderate effort like that offered by the Industrial Combine would yield them an abundance, and preserve a sound body, and all that physical health can mean.

How many of you business men, as well as laborers, ever knew a moment's respite from care and worry and anxiety, a continual feeling of goneness, lest the wolf should come and get in, in spite of your best endeavor to keep him away and tear your little flock? I am not so unsympathetic as to blame you; your great loving hearts impel you on. I would, with fatherly solicitude, reach out a restraining hand and with the other point out a better way for you.

Turn your industrial affairs over to specialists—that's what the Combine means. You become a specialist, and quit trying to do everything and carry everything yourself. Trust others and they will as surely trust you. Put it to the test, prove it. Combines have and are doing it. Some are prone to say that the Combines are made up of the most dishonest men to be found; if so, don't you see if these so-called dishonest men are to be so implicitly trusted, as they are, certainly we that are more honest than they can be trusted more implicitly. By so trusting others enables you to pigeon-hole your business and divide up your time, giving a little to your friends, a little to your family, a little to the beauties of nature, a little to finer sentiment, a little to culture, a little to love, sympathy, refinement—aye, and religion, if you will. The beauty of it is in knowing that you will be cared for and sustained in plenty to your journey's end, and that your family and loved ones are safe and will be cared for a hundredfold better than your selfishness can or ever will be able to do.

You poor Atlas, carrying the world on your back! Just think of your figure, stooping and weary. The Combine can carry your load like a feather weight, if you will trust it. The wiser capitalists are already trusting it. By skillful planning, those who are not capitalists can be included in the benefits without loss to the rich. The rich will not object but rather extend a helping hand. We can trust them, they can trust us, and we will trust each other in our industrial affairs, as we do in political affairs, and this solves the whole industrial problem. I could not be so positive were it not for the presence of the Combine and the confidence that all the people have in the idea—how to appropriate and utilize it is a matter of a very short time. It is not a stranger to the rich; it is not a pretender to the poor; it is not an untried experiment to the American people; if there is any one unfriendly to it a better acquaintance will set us right.

Mergers are showing us how practically easy it is to multiply the number of stockholders and at the same time increase the value of the assets. Standard oil stock then will be as valuable as now and no more dangerous to the political liberty of the bootblack than to Mr. Rockefeller. Corporation was a good gift of political government to industry and was never intended to be anything but a blessing to *all* the people. This progressive way, mark you, has none of the humiliation in it—to any of the parties concerned, that a compromise always implies—none of the chances for alleging partiality that are always given by courts of arbitration; none of the twitting of the capitalist against the laborer or the laborer against the capitalist of “I brought you to time” rather, each are entitled to feel that each are and have been a necessary and significant factor to the solution of this great industrial problem.



What Effect Will the Industrial Combine Have Upon the Press?

I must confess that I approach the answer to this question with a trepidation somewhat analogous to that of a young man on his first visit to see a young lady, above him in ability, yet whom he fondly hopes in time to marry. He may know that he brings to her a character worthy of her highest esteem; yet, for the time being, he cannot help asking himself another question quite as important, "What will she say and do?" I am urged forward by my own heart and mind with unbounded faith in my mission, believing that the press will not take advantage of my acknowledged inexperience as a writer of books to do the object of my infatuation an injustice, yet, like Mrs. Bollingbrook, "I would rather have my plan of conciliation spoken ill of than not at all." In answering the above question, I will say, "I don't know"; and perhaps it would be as well, for both book and cause, for me to leave them there, and let your elegance, experience and better ability make predictions and answer the question for me, only that in answering you observe that the Combine idea, wherever you find it, is the family idea, which is one of self-interest as distinct from selfishness. Neither wages or strikes are applicable to or can exist in the family or the Combine, the larger family. Don't I beg of you go off now on some tangent of opposition but rather stop and ask yourself the simple question What would the Combine do in this, that, or the other industrial or business matter, and let that settle it in your mind and heart and journal. But I will venture to say:

1st. That definite work is susceptible of definite limitations; i. e., a definite hour comes or should come to us each day that we feel duty done, and we can turn to a privilege (I apply this to the reading public as well). The Industrial Combine will and must, from its business character, pigeon-hole every department of labor (and I always mean both mental and manual labor), so that we all can have a way of knowing when we are doing our full duty to our families. This definiteness in itself will make and leave us free to take up a paper, magazine, or book, and devour it with a relish, hence I argue that, as men and women, we can, by the good offices of the Combine, have a definite time to read and (as I have shown elsewhere) much more time than now.

The combine age will demand more and more writers, and those who do write can and will give it not only undivided but undistracted attention (undisturbed by the wolf that some of us know about and all of us have heard about), so that literature will be more breezy and reflect virtue from the choice of the writers, as there will be no longer a seeming necessity to cater to vice; that is, to the vicious tastes of the reading public, for the sake of getting in return bread and butter for our own families. Hence we can say confidently that the press will be permanent and appreciated more and more, and its productions better and its existence a more real necessity to the continued happiness and well-being of our greater family. If the Combine fails to be immediately adopted as a new

center of faith and practice, it will not be because of its inherent deficiency, but because of the incompetency and inactivity of its friends.

2d. It is said, "Ideas are not made; they grow"; but the press does mold them into an opinion, makes it public, and then molds it to a point where it is readily crystallized into law. It is not to be supposed for a moment that the press will wittingly work against its own interest; neither will they pull down established methods to try an experiment or abandon a certainty (as imperfect as it may be) for an uncertainty; yet of all the elements of progress, the press is the most potent and progressive, and the People's Industrial Combine appeals to it in confidence. A crisis is pending and something must be done at once. The crucial hour has come, and it is not only clear that something must be done and at once, but of magnitude tantamount to, yea, superior in force and attractiveness to existing combines (as great and powerful as they are), and worthy not only of their respect and indorsement, but also of the respect and indorsement of all the people, including the press. We are not called upon to pull down or fight or destroy anything, but simply to move on in the even tenor of our way and take in the Combine and use it. Evolution is ever progressive, and the Industrial Combine is simply the next step in its progress if we take it promptly and heartily, revolution, which always retards, will be unnecessary. Our country very foolishly halted and postponed freeing the Negroes by the peaceable methods of evolution until it was too late, and did we not pay dearly for the four million slaves, both in blood and treasure? The proposed combine is the only peaceable solution of a greater matter than Negro slavery, and will we dilly dally until it is too late to accomplish a peaceable adjustment? I would have you see that it is not simply a matter of choice between two evils, but rather a reaching-out for greater good, and no department will be the recipient of this good more than will the press. One of the many good points the Combine will afford is the liberty of a choice of vocations. The now intense and inordinate demand to "stick to what you are at," or starve, will be easily corrected and men can quietly and assuredly take up the vocation to which they are the best adapted; and we do enjoy doing a thing that we are adapted to do and we do not think of it as being work. How very many misfits have our nefarious methods of competition in business made necessary? Lawyers carrying the hod and hod-carriers trying to practice law; a mechanic following the plow and a good farmer proving to be a very poor mechanic! We would be as happy as a bird in its home nest, or every ready and willing to do our full share when in our own appropriate niche; for example, we may feel compelled to write, when we know we would rather plow or measure calico, or keep a home for a loved one; but we can make a dollar in this way, and we need the dollar today, and we have no choice but to push blindly and incoherently ahead into darkness, but with a goneness of feeling akin to despair, and all for the want of a little previous planning on the part of society, which it becomes the business of society, through the Combine, to do. What is the use of created good at all if we must forever take the evil? What is the use of Heaven if there is no way to get to it? You may mistake me, I am not in the domain of religion unless you are pleased to call pure financial business transactions religious. I am speaking absolutely of material things, not spiritual or supernatural, and the innocent warbler that says that the good, the true and the beautiful is reserved for the sweet bye-and-bye and the home of the soul, is an impediment to Christian civilization, and must be told by society,

in its triumphal march, to stand aside. This earth is to be made the best possible, for it may be the best world some will ever have to enjoy, so we must make it as good as we can. I wish also to be explicit in this, that the Golden Rule is for here and now and for both saint and sinner; we will not need it in either Heaven or hell, but we do need it on this earth as an industrial business rule—a standard of measurement. We can have self-interest in business, and “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them” is a cool business proposition and possible to any man who wants to be fair, be he Christian or infidel. I dwell on this point to rivet your attention on the fact that, though the good results of the Combine are upward,—a look up, a lift up—its perfection is material and is to be obtained by material men in their material capacity; and in this world a matter-of-fact flesh and blood movement. To be explicit, is not every man entitled to a wife and every woman entitled to a husband, and each made of the best material that the mind and matter of society can, by studied care and skill, produce? And should we not, by every means possible, continue to maintain and improve the characters of that husband and that wife and their offspring by hygienic law, enforced by statute-law? If not, why not?

Aye, there was a time when it was nobody’s business, but let it be our business from now on. If the Combine’s Board of Health finds that anything makes the man less a manly man than the one that statute law gave in marriage to that unsuspecting, innocent woman, is it not business, and legal business, too, to say, “No, sir; we gave that woman a man and we propose to make good our part of the contract. Society, sir, has gone out of the business of making drunks out of sober men, or opium fiends out of unsuspecting women. Men don’t want them; women don’t want them; drunks and fiends, sir, don’t belong to our higher state of civilization; society don’t want them.” This is legal business and a logical sequence of the Combine; and then, sir, the Combine has a pecuniary interest involved, namely, that every man and woman “must needs be at his or her best, physically” (a point which we have discussed at length elsewhere).

The combine will make the earth, not a heaven, but a beautiful earth, full of sunshine and flowers, but the best of all, full of manly men and good women, and a nation of homes and mothers. Professor Drummond, in his lecture on “The Evolution of Motherhood,” says, “All the machinery, all the preceding work of nature, is to the end that she may produce a mother.”

3d. What effect will the Industrial Combine have upon the press? It will not only make it more prominent and useful, but it will increase its responsibility. You can’t evade it if you would; and you would not if you could. If it is delayed you are largely responsible. When in active operation, the press, no doubt, must frequently differentiate between self-interest and selfishness, making it clear to the obtuse; the clearer vision of the press must of necessity be eyes to the short-sighted, for we are not governed so much by a majority of hands as we are by a majority of intellect. Let our intellect be in the proper proportions of both mind and heart, so that it may take on a compassion for rich as well as poor, the intelligent as well as the ignorant, the bigot as well as those modestly hiding out of sight, the sober as well as the drunk; and with a philanthropy, whose gifts in charity is really love, and only equaled by our sincerity of purpose in the interest of humanity. Please observe that the Industrial Combine fits no other form of government but a republic. The people in their corporate capacity must govern

industry. And it is clear that no republic is ready for it but our United States, and we have not been ready for it until now, and we are justified in adopting it now, because an emergency is upon us. We must act now and act wisely, and on a scale and with a force equal to the emergency; anything less is insipid and folly and must result in sickening failures. The patriotism of the nation justifies this movement, and thus progress steps on and up and into Christian civilization in fact, and, as will be seen, an injustice to no one, but a real blessing to all, rich and poor alike. The press can, by throwing light on the seeming doubtful and obscure, show that self-interest is contemplated in the very nature of things to become the legitimate offspring of self-government; and that trying every case before the tribunal of "my own self-interest" will most effectually take the strike out of labor and the poison out of liquor; and capital, willingly and without violence or coercion, will soon get within its legitimate metes and bounds with becoming alacrity and precision—existing combines, merging financial interests, have shown and are showing us the way, and we are thankful to them for it. They have taught us (possibly unintentionally) that competition is not necessary to business at all; aye, and is no part or parcel of industry, and that the old saying, "Competition is the life of trade," is a delusion and a snare. So it is plainly reasonable that all that remains for us to do is to think out a way to get into it ourselves, and then act upon the Combine's idea.

The press will not only be a necessary agent in bringing this People's Combine out and crystallizing its necessary accompaniments into law, but also in holding it steady in its purpose and during our transient state (as did authors and writers on self-government, when it was being established). The world has never seen before an expression of so much business common sense as these several combines are exemplifying today, and it is impossible to stop them. Political government has no right to try to stop them unless they transgress law; why, because they are authorized by statute law; they have their incorporation papers, and what has Congress to oppose in them? Their opposition presents the strange anomaly of a body of men opposing themselves, a State granting a monopoly and then abrogating it, trying to tear it down, or of giving a man a suit of clothes and forbidding him to put it on. Yet, labor in the abstract must and of a right ought to be kindly pacified; it has just reason to complain of unfairness; its grievances are real and must be adjusted. I live in the interest of labor, but a man hates to see his own friends deceive or disgrace themselves. There is only one way to adjust the matter, and I am glad there is only one, so there can be no dividing up on a choice between two—a People's Industrial Combine, authorized and acting as any other combine, thus placing labor and capital under one management.

Existing combines are part of the people, hence parties in interest, and we need their friendship. Labor organized or unorganized is a significant part of the people. Why childe either of them away? Besides, we are really so near to a better civilization, why not begin even now, not only to be rational, but to be fair. If their hearts have not quite carried them over into the domain of self-interest, will we not give diplomacy a chance to bring us friends, not only from the existing combines, but from every possible quarter? Why offend any? We must, if possible, have all as friends; or if not friends, then as reconciled enemies, much as the thirteen colonies did when self-government was first enacted, and which we, too, in time, can and will make into the best of friends. Our interests are all centered in the Combine, so let us stop quarreling with any who

may not see clearly, and move steadily onward, persuading as we go, and thus enter the Combine age in the opening light of self-interest, convincing all of the rectitude of our intentions and of our ultimate industrial triumph. We are as near to self-interest in industrial business matters today as our fathers were at noon on that glorious fourth day of July, 1776, on which the "Declaration" was signed at two o'clock, and self-government was flung to the breeze on its own merits, and the people as a whole were for the first time trusted with the political affairs of a great nation—and right well have we stood the test. So now, as then, we are led by the God of nations right up to where we can declare for self-interest in our industrial affairs—will we sign our name?—and as they, have something definite and decisive to work for? They did, and we can, work out the minutia as we proceed. Will we do it? Let the press.

Show an uplifted hand with a pen in it, then let your eyes fall upon your own paper and write, "An injustice done to one is the concern of all." Sign it and live by it, and it is ours, as emphatical and complete as political independence was when the formality of signing had been accomplished. I have come to you with a definite program. We have squandered enough precious time in hazy, incoherent generalities. Co-operation stands ready and is able to do anything that industry needs to have done in the interests of the whole people



Young Men.

My object particularly in writing this letter to young men is to bring out an example of their power when associated together, for the good that they can do when relieved from incrustated and embarrassing business environments that shut them in from being full, frank, and fair with each other in their social and business relations, as well as to bring out boldly that self-interest is noble and humane, and the very opposite of selfishness, which is narrow, mean and despicable; and that our competitive business training for young men—all men—has heretofore been from the center of selfishness, from which all its so-called business reforms must have radiated; hence, all necessarily competitive and bad, as pure water does not flow from an impure fountain. Consequently, business cannot reform from selfishness into self-interest, but it must adopt the new center from which combination, with its co-operation in business, can flow, as pure water from its pure fountain head, this new center being the combination of self-interests personified. I hope to be able to represent the spirit that lays behind each—competition in business as we have known it, and its antithesis; combination, as we do and will know it, by giving you a story of adventure.

A young business man of about thirty years of age, and rich as Croesus, but tired to death with the multiplicity of his duties, determined to leave his various departments of business (as hazardous as it may seem to be to men competitively educated) to superintendents, and slip away and rest, letting only his lovely wife and young family and his private secretary, know of his whereabouts, who were to act for him in any matter demanding immediate attention. He took a night train, with only a gun and some suitable blankets and necessary food, for he expected to hunt and fish, his objective point being a cave in a mountain forest, described to him as unexplored, but from its elevation on the mountainside, and from the mouth of it his city home could be seen though fifty miles away. He finally arrived at the cave without incident, but more weary by his climb from the railroad depot, carrying his heavy load, than he had ever been in all his life.

After peering into the mouth of the uninviting cave he concluded to lie down and rest awhile on the outside, and immediately fell asleep. A sharp mountain breeze set up from the west and the sighing of the mountain pines, so different in sound from the clatter of feet on the sidewalk and the horses' hoofs on the pavement in the great city, awoke him, and as he sat up and looked around the solitude of his surroundings produced a profound impression; but this, he said to himself, would be grand in contrast and comparison with the intensity of yesterday were it not for one thing, and that is, an agreeable companion to see what I see, to hear what I hear, to feel in sympathy with my feelings, to taste what I taste and smell these sweet odors that shut me in. Truly, it was not intended that man should live alone, but for and with others; yet, why has my business training taught me to savagely devour my neighbor in any and every business transaction until I am loaded down with

wealth so that I get into a frenzy at times and feel as though I must take something to tide me over it; and yet, I know that every indulgence makes me weaker, makes me less a manly man. But pshaw! we all do it; and as I remember, the motto of my Guild is, "A short life and a merry one." That is about all there is to it; yes, that is so, and were it not for an eternity (that I am not sure about), I would not care to ever go back to business, but lie here and sleep forever. But as it is, I am not quite ready, somehow, for eternity. The fellows all tell me there is no Heaven, no Hell, as my parents taught; but they will have a pretty hard time to make me believe what I am sure not one of them believes himself. I guess it is good to get alone with oneself once in awhile; for the way business is piled onto a fellow he can't have time to think. I do try to think sometimes, but some item of business crowds in and I fall into a dazed kind of stupor and feel as though I must take some stimulant, so of late I keep it handy. It's a bad, bad way to do. I do wonder where I will round up; then I wonder again if there is no better way, but business is business and I'll have to go back to it. I am sorry to say. Why, my teeth are chattering with the cold; I must build a fire.

Let us follow another young man of about the same age and like courage and physique, but from the other extreme of active life. He, poorly equipped for hunting, had resolved to get away for a short time, if possible, from his environments of poverty (and a sense of degradation which accompanies the poor, and which he, by the force of circumstances, fought hard to conquer but failed), and go somewhere, anywhere, where poverty and the cause of it (competitive business) would not be so apparent, hoping somehow that "out of sight would be out of mind." Not wishing to be called a tramp, he started at midnight, planning to get out of the settlements surrounding the great city before daylight. Weary with his long day's walk, he finally arrived, late in the evening, near to the point of his destination, expecting to make the inhospitable and naked walls of the cave a protection to him against the chill of the mountain air during the night. As for blankets, he had none.

Through an opening among the trees he discovered a smoke which made him hesitate, but peering through the boughs, on a nearer approach, he saw an elegantly dressed stranger with a kindly, clean-shaven face and the air of a perfect gentleman quietly cooking his supper. After a time of argument with himself as to what (dressed shabbily as he was) would be the best thing to do, he finally stepped frankly out, resolved to present his manhood rather than his clothing, and was greeted with a cordial handshake that thrilled him by its genuine heartiness, altogether unexpected, and still greater was his astonishment when he heard the remark, "I am very, very glad to see you, sir, and away from business, where we can both meet on a common basis as man and man. I wish you to share with me this evening meal and become my companion." Thus the hard lines between this representative of the poor and this unplumed knight, representing the rich, vanished as the smoke of the camp-fire, when they actively did once get together, as men away from competitive business influence, and were led only by a common interest, which revealed to them their brotherhood. It was business competition that had made them enemies in the first place and it had kept them apart these weary years—weary? yes, weary for both. These thoughts flitted through their minds as they talked and ate together, and the thought, "Must the time really come so soon when this good-hearted, cordial young man must be my enemy again as of yore?" came to each simultaneously as they agreeably talked

to each other. In the twilight they saw a figure in the distance, whether of man or beast they could not determine, but each man's weapon was in his hands and this feeling in his heart, "We will stand together." Presently, through the gloaming, appeared a man, but of such a friendly attitude as to disarm them at once. Most hearty congratulation passed between them and an open-hearted friendship in explaining the various causes that brought them together made each of them perfectly at ease in the presence of the others. And as the stars twinkled at them and the great electric lights, plainly visible in the far-away city, kindly reminded them of home, they talked well into the night of their past history and told instances of the causes of the estrangement between the classes. Finally, spreading their blankets, and with a better realization of the ruin wrought by competitive business than they ever could have had before, with a genuine kindred of sympathy for each other they went to sleep, all sharing alike with the others for the first time in their lives. None of them were surprised by the refreshing change that sweet sleep had wrought in their tired bodies, but rather to find themselves possessed of a nobler purpose in their souls than had ever before dawned on them with an opening day, an experience of which none of them had ever thought himself capable. They hunted and fished together during the day, each one learning from the other. Night was approaching before they knew it, and as they came near the camp, one said, "Why not utilize the cave tonight?" Another observed that, as the bonfire from the outside shone into its deep recesses last night, it seemed very inviting. The third laughingly said, "How would it do to build a fire in the center, so that it would shine out from the new center that we have been talking about today?" So necessary material was soon in the middle of the cave, ready for the object lesson, and as the opening light shone around about them as they stood together, looking at the revelations of the light, a feeling came over them that they were standing in the presence of Him who made the cave and light and the warmth and comfort that all these things brought, as well as we who are here to represent (and most fitly do represent) the Maker of it all. And as their eyes wandered from one sparkling gem to another, as the reflected light made it all glorious within, one suddenly pointed his finger and said, "Look!" and the one that came last began to spell out and interpret an inscription within (as he explained it to be) in old Hebrew, Latin and Greek, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." As they stood, speechless for a time, one, as if to break the spell, managed to ask himself rather than his comrades, "How came it there? Who wrote it? What does it all mean?" Each of the others said, "Your questions are all pertinent, and we must together think them out." And as they prepared, cooked and ate their supper of fowl and fish, one observed: "It seems necessary to social conversation for us to each have a name. Yes, and as I came last, you can call me 'No. 3.' Ha! ha!" "Then I am 'No. 1.'" "And me, '2.'"—a witty reminder that he had read of New York politics of twenty-five years ago. "How comfortable the fire has made the cave!" "Yes, fire, like business, is a good servant, but a hard-hearted, relentless master." "As I am the most benefited, it is relevant that I should 'say thanks' for this supper." "That reminds me," said No. 1, "of my early training." "Yes; to be sure," said No. 3; and as they ate and meditated, No. 3 finally broke the silence: "In view of the meal we have before us, has it ever occurred to you how soon capital would be exhausted by consumption were it not for labor? This is a wonderful subject, but just to playfully skirt around it, I have caught no fish,

and was only able to take a bird or so, and No. 1 declared I could not hit a thing with my gun, though it's the best that money could buy, and could only fish today like a boy of ten." "It's no credit to me," said No. 2, "that I took so much with my old rifle, for it was in my hands so much when I was a lad that it was said to be a part of me, and two or three times during these later years has been my only diversion." "Every one needs diversion," said No. 3. "Yes, but not too much of it," said No. 1, "for I was almost ruined by it. My father being independently rich, left me to myself, and did not require anything of me—no trade, no profession—meaning, in the goodness of his soul that I, as his only son, should never want for anything; and when I heard you read that Latin inscription up there it came to me as a reproof, 'Why did I not use my opportunities to learn the languages, classics, etc.?' When I had so much time I just squandered it in pure wantonness." "I can see now," said No. 2, "that an education is very desirable in every way; but really I could not see much good that it could ever do me, as I could never utilize it, having no pull, no rich or great people to set me up, and then, back at home, as long as I can remember, it was necessary for us children to work early and late. A big family, and father being dead, mother had a tough time of it. I married at twenty-three, and now have a family of my own, and as wife and I were talking a few days ago, it seemed that neither of us knew much else than hard work. 'I,' she said, 'often wish I could just run away from it all, just for a week; but I can't,' and laughing to keep back the tears, said, 'The next best thing is for you to skip out for a week, especially now that the strike is on.' 'But what will you and the children do? I have got to work at something—I don't know what.' 'Yet, you can do nothing here,' she said; 'there is practically no work, for you can't work outside of your own Union, you know; you dare not be a scab, and a big man like you can't beg successfully, and not even as well as I could,' she said, laughing. 'Besides, beggars haven't much of a show, now that we are all getting to be poor alike, and the rich people have become so accustomed to beggars that they turn them all away; so you just take two of the five dollars and go somewhere; it's been most ten years since you have had a vacation. When you didn't have work, you had to work harder to hunt work.' I told her, after I swallowed a big lump in my throat, that I would never take a cent of the money, but I would like to go to the old cave once more. It's only sixty miles by the old trail, and by starting at midnight I can walk it before dark. She was silent for a long while, then said slowly, 'Why is it that there is such inequality? Some have so much time and money that they are loaded down and squander both, and here we are having hardly time even to be good, or money to keep us out of the almshouse, let alone a little to go on an excursion; and it's plain now that we will have to give up ever having a home of our own'—and then she turned her head away, I knew to keep me from seeing tears. Presently, by a forced cheerfulness, she asked, 'Is it possible for you to walk all the way?' 'Yes, I can walk, but that's not it; I can't leave you to take care of the children; it looks like running away from duty.' 'Never mind me,' she quickly interrupted, 'I'll get along somehow; we can live for a week on three dollars, so you take the two dollars and go, and tell me about all you have seen when you come back,' and nothing would do her but that I must take the two dollars (and I did, but slipped around to the landlord and paid it on the rent) and kissing her and the sleeping children good-bye started." Neither of the other men could take the risk of speaking, but presently he began again, saying: "I wish they

could be here to have this outing with me." No. 1 had regained courage to speak: "I am not appalled by your pathetic recital of facts, or your penury, for we, as the rich, have known these facts all along. But I am appalled that, knowing the facts, we have not thought out some effective way of setting these wrongs right. It seems that, up to the present time, we have not cared enough to raise a protest equal to the emergency, but it is plain we must care enough to really do—yes, do anything that may be necessary to be done to set ourselves right. Why, we are not brutes, but I must confess it looks like it. Whenever we have been alone with ourselves we have known the poor were just as good, just as capable as we, but 'none are so blind as those who won't see.' As we stand, self-condemned, self-convicted and ashamed, because we did not care enough to even be civil, whether my mother was right or the fellows, the fact that an injustice is being done is our concern, and the very want of gallantry in us, as men, taking everything in sight, leaving women to stand, embarrassed, why, our chivalry ought to have made us even polite! True, we have made some spasmodic efforts to be fair in charity but never because it was really right to be fair. We have always insisted on having a controlling interest in the business so that we could strut around and show up our richness and self-importance, to the humiliation (as I can see now) of the poor. I have never been able to see my real selfishness to such an extent as to carry with it a determination to quit such meanness. I do wonder at the long suffering and patience of the destitute, when they knew that they were not being treated fairly, especially when they knew that we knew it and did not even mean to be fair."

After these expressions of an awakened conscience, the silence was so profound as to be felt. Presently No. 3, clearing his throat, said, "I do not mean to chafe you by saying that I am glad to hear you say these things, and that with such genuine frankness, for it is far better, taking human nature into account as it is, for you, as a representative of the rich, to feel self-accused and self-condemned, than it would be for the very poor, or me, as a representative of the middle class, to say these things to you. We can see that you might have resented us as being impertinent, and your antagonism might have been aroused and your friendship lost, rather than your hearty comradeship gained. Scolding, ever so mildly or politely given, must not come in to chide away a single friend from making a combined and honest effort to establish a business relation that will be to the self-interest of all, rich and poor alike. I am glad of another thing, that is, to have this disrobing of character around this pleasant campfire precede any surmising regarding that inscription. Yet, each one of us seems to be impressed by its very presence, and we seem to intuitively feel that we already know what it means to us, that it does touch each and every one of us and the classes we represent in our industrial business relations with one another, and also that it holds a principle that will somehow solve the problem. In fact, if it hung as a business motto on the walls of every sitting-room and office or counting-house in America, as it hangs over the entrance of this neglected cave, and has for perhaps 1900 years, and all business planning were done in its presence, as we are in its presence here tonight, then all could agree on a bill of rights, as we do here and now. From its very wording—'men unto men'—makes it clearly a business motto and of business signification, and we all feel instinctively that it originated in a master mind. So, who made it, when was it written, what does it mean?—are all answered by our underlying common sense, when we thus try to apply it to our every-day dealings with each other, for it

is so vividly true that it matters not whether it was written thousands of years ago or is still wet with ink, or whether it was written by a god or the most humble specimen of humanity,—it does mean and is a business center. To love ourselves, that we may love others, has never been tried as a business principle by any nation. It's the exact antithesis of loving ourselves that we may fight others, as we do in competitive business. The proper relations of business can just as well and as properly be of love as of hate, and we know the relations of love are most pleasant and agreeable to all, so by just moving over from the domain of hate into the domain of love, and from this a new center of business letting self-interest radiate, bestowing equal benefits in the interests of all, we bring to ourselves the chief benefit for we must love ourselves, yea, we do love ourselves and must sustain our individuality, our very selves; for outside of this is nonentity,—nothing!"

No. 1 seemed ready to say something: "I was just thinking, if an observer from one of the planets were looking down upon our nation, to study us and ascertain for himself what kind of beings we are, having seen our past business methods of dealing with each other, he would be perfectly excusable if we had to tell him that we are human and really have souls; and then to prove or establish our veracity, we had to refer him to our constitution and Declaration of Independence, and tell him our fore fathers enacted these, (and you can surely believe they had souls, by what they did) and that we are their sons. He would innocently reply, "Why, I never would have suspected it by your business methods; excuse me, for it is a difficult and delicate distinction to make between the beast you call the lion and another who habitually takes the lion's share; but being a stranger, I am still a little incredulous, when I see your magnificent progress, and ask, have you not really got some power hidden away somewhere out of sight, to put in the balance to overcome your lack of weight in soul matter, as represented by your business methods?—a kind of atonement or propitiation for your lack of soul?—for surely your business methods are diametrically opposed to progress, and your civilization has had to make headway against them and not because of them."

No. 2 had been a modest but very attentive listener, but now ventured to say, "I can see that my class has been very deficient in this soul matter, as you so aptly call it. For example, in our diplomacy we have been forever wanting,—on the defensive to be sure, but the question, 'Might not we have done better?' sinks into insignificance in comparison with the question, 'Can we not do better now?' I believe we must and will; I can see that we have stopped short on the mere discovery that there is something radically wrong, without an honest effort to do our part in setting the wrong right. True, we have fought to the finish through many a strike, and our successes are infinitesimally small in comparison with our failures; yet we have not as a whole tried to find a better way, but still keep it up, and now as I try to study out how that motto up there can help us, I confess I cannot make it apply to states and conditions of life so unequal as ours are; yet whoever wrote it must have meant it to be universal in its application, and if so it would be idle as a motto, which evidently it was intended to be, if we poor (as we feel ourselves to be) could neither obey or appropriate its teachings. So I can see, if we have a will to do, there must be some way. Some have said that people are poor because they are imprudent; maybe so—but Mary and I did save up some money when we were first married, to buy us a little home, put some of it in a bank, the bank failed (they said they couldn't help it, maybe not, but most of our

money was gone) and then sickness took the balance and we have been heart-sick ever since. But I am cheered by that motto; I can hardly tell why, but it does set life for us poor people in a new light. It does say, 'As ye would have them do unto you.' We can surely tell them what we so much want, we can surely do that, and we do want a home. We can tell them also that we want a chance to work and make an honest living. Yes, we can tell that, and even if we have so little, so very little, to finish out the motto with, we can try to 'do ye even so unto them.' If we all had homes of our very own and a chance to work sufficient to support that home, I think we could do anything and everything that the motto says."

It is plain that the poor people will be the most benefitted, yet the government gives homesteads now to the people that are situated to go onto them and live, but how can we get to them, and how can we build a house, and where can we get work? I confess I can't see very deep, but if the government can give 160 acres as a homestead, why can't it keep enough of the land to build us a house with, and make some terms with the railroad company to take us to the place, and plan to give us some work until we could get a start, and after a time, we to pay it all back? We don't want something for nothing, as a poor class we resent something for nothing. That's charity, and we abominate charity; we can pay for everything we need, if we have a fair chance to work, yet, pardon my vehemence. The rich people mean well in giving us in charity, but it's exasperating to us when we remember that we are entitled by right (because we also are men and women) to an even chance to earn, and then an equal chance to have and hold what we have done our part in producing. I can't see yet how the government can give all the people a home to live in and a sure job of work, but I feel sure that it can; for if it can spend millions in irrigation and in building fleets, it might go on and authorize a corporation whose business it should be to see to it that everybody has a home and on the same conditions as a homestead. And if government has the right to employ a million men as a standing army, corporation can employ fifty million in its factories and farms. Government ownership, I am told, is hardly practical, but there must be some way very nearly akin to it.

Not one in a thousand, probably, having no home, could take a homestead of 160 acres; but the other 999 would, if they could, take and prefer, a villa lot, a village lot, or a town lot, with a little home on it, and prefer it to a whole 160 acres a thousand miles away, with no chance to get there, no house to live in, and no way to make a living if they could get there. The facts are, none but those who do not particularly need to have 160 acres given to them can possibly avail themselves of a homestead. Yet a homestead is the most practical measure thus far authorized by the government.

I am indeed enjoying this evening with you, as you have succeeded in causing me to feel that I am really equal to you both in my right as a man, and I am proud of it, if it is only for one brief space of time. Would that it could continue, that is if it could be so planned that it would not injure either of you or the classes you represent."

No. 1 arose, and sat back upon his feet (as campers do), and with a strong gesture of the right arm, said, emphatically, "We will do it, the class that I represent will do our part, no matter if it does injure us. We have been acting barbarously and must redeem ourselves. We must set ourselves right. We will meet you more than half way."

No. 3 got up and began to walk to and fro before the camp fire, with his hands behind him, and presently began, in meas-

ured tones, to say—"There is a way, a practical way, a definite and commendable way because it's a fair way; it's a way that will not injure the rich and yet be just to the poor. A business way, hence so far-reaching that it will reach every man, woman and child in America; a way of such gigantic magnitude that it will command not only the attention but the respect of all, and a way that will sustain the rich in their luxury and set the now poor up by their side." (At this No. 2 got to his feet, so as to better listen). "I cannot tell you all that is in my mind and heart tonight, but in a word, it's to substitute combination for competition.

In a republic like ours, the people are everything. If the people want to combine, they can; and of course what the people say in a people's government, is legal, and who should know better what the people want than the people themselves. But we must spread our blankets for the night. I for one, however, am resolved to do my full part to bring about a People's Business Combine."

No. 1 sprang to his feet and said, "Give me your hand"—and both, turning to No. 2, grasped his extended hand, and the fires of the forefathers were rekindled in the hearts of their sons—theirs for civil liberty, which they purchased by their blood and which we still have and will forever hold; which was then a new and untried form of government. Our Declaration is for the industrial equality of the people now living together under that government then established."

Breakfast being over, a ramble in the forest brought sufficient returns for another day; and our friends, after another supper, sat as on the eventful night before, and in plain view of the motto that had proven such an inspiration to each of them. All were anxious to follow out more minutely the practical details of a People's Combine. The idea seemed entirely practical to all, but the *Modus Operandi* was not so clear.

"Well, the last shall be first and the first last," cheerily said No. 1. With this well-pointed invitation, No. 3 said, "I would be very much to blame if I were not better prepared, on account of my superior environments, as you thus intimate, than either of you, to let light in upon this vital matter. This is not egotism, it is facts, and as we have agreed today to deal in facts, this matter, a People's Combine, is not only one of them but the leading one.

As I have explained to you before, I have never either been punished by poverty or overloaded with wealth, but have always been as I am now, free to work or play and so both are alike easy. This I believe to be the birthright of every American citizen of sound mind. To study under these favorable auspices was a pleasure. The languages that I was prepared to bring to my relief in reading that motto also enabled me to look deeply into ancient history, even to the bottom facts and inspirations that underlie all the leading forms of government, in monarchies, that is, where the power originates in a king or queen. That form of government is not preparatory or conducive in its character to the spirit of an industrial organization or combine of all the people; but in a republic, where the power originates at the other extreme, that is, with the people, an industrial combine flows from such a form of government as water from its fountain head. Because the people are the governing power, our form of political government is adapted to it without any modification, and ready for it without any delay. We have been wont to call our government a new form. It was not new even to our forefathers, but to carry it into active living operation was comparatively new; so a business combine is not new now, in some of its

forms, but has grown remarkably fast under our representative method of government, showing itself competent to manage multiplied millions of capital as easily and skillfully as hundreds or thousands were formerly, with an increasing ratio of profit in about the proportion to the magnitude of the capital invested. So now that an emergency is upon us, men's hearts failing them in the sickening struggle waged so relentlessly by both labor and capital, eclipsing every other interest, and the success of capital on nearly every battle field making men crazy for capital, much as they would be for a claim in a bonanza mine, tumbling over one another to get rich, riding down and crushing to earth the finer sensibilities of humanity, as well as morality and religion, others, thoughtful men, with uplifted hands, ask in dismay, "What shall we do?"—when up out of the darkness steps our well-trained athlete, Combine, and says, "Here am I, send me. True, I was educated for the ring, but I can settle a fight as well as make one, and would much prefer to do it. If you don't believe it, just try me; I have proven a success to a few of the people, I am conscious of my power when exerted for all the people." The week's vacation was not half through until the men were back in the midst of active life, but filled with a new purpose, to uplift the people, and cheer them with the good news that in the march of progress we had arrived at a combine of all the people, each selfish interest sinking in the interest of one for the other, as being the acme of self-interest.

Please observe that placing capital and labor under one management as is proposed the combine does not rob us of what good we have obtained, but rather takes the good we have to get more and greater good. It takes the form of government we have and uses it; it takes the central fact (self-interest) of civilization and appropriates it as a new business center; it takes the lesson the existing combines are teaching and applies it in its broadest application, so as to embrace all the people as beneficiaries; it takes the progress that we have made in material wealth and puts it where it can continue to progress without danger to itself (in its top-heavy state) or the firm or individual who would now take it all if they can get it, and put wealth where it can and will lift up all the people. It takes industry as a gift of God, and causes it to be the specie basis, the medium of exchange, the popular entertainment, the one thing indispensable, the coin of the realm, making labor as popular as it is necessary; for when all work, the work will be so light that it will not be a burden to any. Men and women like to work for the exercise of it, but its being considered by some as menial gives it its repulsive aspect,—remove the menial odium and industry will be as welcome, as agreeable and natural as sleep.

The combine idea is not only true as a business rule of action but it is fundamental. As a word is defined as being the sign of an idea, so the combine includes both the word and the idea. Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division are fundamental. The combine includes these and all that may be worked out by them in the fields of industry; so we find that the ordinary combine serves us an excellent purpose as an example of the principle involved; but "The People's Combine" not only exemplifies a principle, but goes on and appropriates the principle also, and sets it to work. So that our young men, women, thinkers, all have a vast field of thought opened up before them, heretofore unexplored, because of their not being suitably backed with men and their labor, as well as their very own (our very own) capital, all working in constant and harmonious action, to hold up and sustain any great adventures of mind and heart. So far, then, as a home for all and assured work in the sup-

port of that home being the end of a God-given ambition, it is but the beginning, for never before has anyone, from the lofty scientist down to "the man with an idea above an oyster" felt that he was safe in venturing into or planning for active life on account of the treachery and uncertainty of competitive business, solely because society has never had a definite plan and this for the very good reason it could not have and remain under the jurisdiction of competition. Competition is business chaos hence no definite plan is possible. Society is weary and tired of it and the combine age is even now on, and we cannot prevent if we would. Definite planning for the good of society will under the combine be for the first time possible and practicable as a financial material business, from its inherent nature it will have authority and with economic authority society takes on its right relation to each individual composing it, and is enabled to definitely plan for each just as righteously and as properly as parents do and are expected to do, yea, are required to do for their children and for like legal and economic reasons. The industrial combine is the birth of a new era and solves the problem of capital and labor in a way unexpected, but as we behold its invincible progress we are forced to believe it's God's way, and if it be of God we may well give attention and get into line.

Young men I appeal to your patriotism. You can see that if competition as the old medieval method of business, suitable to, and practiced by monarchy where might was ungallantly said to be right, and where personal liberty was a cowardly construed to mean to take any unfair advantage in business that you would disdain to do in the ring, to take the lion's share. Aye, to take all wealth, and viciously trample a weaker or less competent brother down—down to serve for wages, and wages down to the border of if not to actual starvation. And for what? For power. To be a king. To be a monarch? Calmly, sir, does not a republic demand a better sentiment? That I say not a better character, a consistency with itself, a civilization that is Christian.

It was said in that elderly day "to be a Roman was greater than to be a king." To be a citizen of this republic carries with it as lofty a sentiment. How dare we do so mean a thing? We being politically equal honor demands industrial equality, but if not the family does, but if not society the larger family does, but if not civilization does, but if not Christian civilization does, but if not self-interest does. And be you Christian or infidel you can no more get away from your self-interest than from your shadow. And it demands that to expect fair treatment that you must yourself be fair. But I need not to condemn the monarchial idea which is the acme of selfish bigotry only to say dispassionately that it is not suited in any of its leadings to a republic, and I cannot commend to the loyal blood of young American manhood the industrial combine more highly than to say that it is the only method of conducting business to harmonize with a republican form of government. Competing corporations are a menace to our political liberty and restraint of co-operations is clearly an invasion of industrial liberty. Are we then between the devil and the deep sea? Not at all. Simply extend the good offices of the corporation to all the people alike, then political liberty can have nothing to fear from it. We must here and now begin with patriotic zeal to separate industry and politics—much as our fathers did church and politics. They acted wisely then and we have now, if never before, got to a point in our progress where industry requires a management from some source and if we think of it rightly politics was never designed to manage industry. When our nation was yet young it tacitly said to industry, "Here,

I grant you letters of incorporation and industry stepped out as definitely to act for itself as a young man at twenty-one, and Congress had no more control over a corporation acting legally than a father over a son of age—now we the people are in corporate capacity can have but one interest and so both labor and capital naturally come under one man agent. Labor produces all the necessities of life and there really is but a shadow of difference in taking away life and taking away a necessity of that life so clearly placing labor and its capital under one management precludes strikes and lock-outs, for a man will not strike himself or lock himself out of a job.



Letter to Prohibitionists.

My experience with drinking men from a physician's standpoint and in religious work in the missions and churches, gives me very definite and pronounced conviction on the temperance question. My sympathy for the drinker does not array itself against the maker and seller of the liquid poison, but rather includes him. I sympathize with him as a creature of remorseless circumstances, getting drunk is bad enough, selling liquor is bad enough, but there is a deeper wrong that must be righted. It is easy to tell the drunkard not to touch it and trust in God, it is easy to say to the seller, quit it, better starve than make money in that way. The theory of trusting in God is all right but have you not felt guilty of acting out a great farce in holding the cup out to a man and at the same time telling him not to drink. That is practically what we prohibitionists are doing. Men and women are turning away from us in sorrow for where they had a right to expect a fish we have offered them a serpent. We must go deeper than we have gone. Our sermons and lectures and pleadings and persuasiveness are all right but we blush when we remember that our American nation of which we are a part, is proudly carrying blood money. No wonder this monster evil like Banquo's ghost, will not go down. No tactics, military, civil, moral or religious, but have been tried and found wanting; for well informed temperance people themselves tell us that the business of buying and selling intoxicating liquors is on the increase. This to be sure is only the business view of it, but that only comes within the scope of this book. Let us be Christians and do the first thing first, i. e., be reconciled to our brethren. Matt. 5-24. We have said and intimated frequently elsewhere that business interest is the only interest that is universal in its application—as a people we must set ourselves right and to do so it's to business interest that we must look for the solution of this business problem. If we all, with unprejudiced minds, will look, we will see that the liquor people put more business concentration into their business than the temperance people do into their methods of opposition to it, I speak of this fact to show that any business succeeds in proportion to the concentration put into it—so we must conclude that the liquor traffic will go on succeeding and gaining indefinitely, or until it is met with a superior expression of business concentration. I speak of this only as a business fact. Now to take human nature as it is, and to quit our dreaming of it as we think it ought to be, let us notice a few pertinent facts. Business interest does make friends out of foes. It may, it will require a business revolution to enlist liquor men as allies in the cause of temperance, yet we must have them as allies or fail. We must concentrate on one thing and give everybody a fair chance at it if we can. If it can be made to be to the business interest of liquor men to adopt a food and drink that will make them stronger in mind and muscle, as well as to give them a more profitable business investment, they will accept the most profitable and so forsake the less profitable, willingly, and for the most part gladly; for but very few are in it because they love the liquor business—rather for the profit there is in the business. We do not know whether most drunkards

drink because of discouragement or whether drinking caused the discouragement, but if there is a way, a practical way, though it be entirely a business way, for society to proceed to produce sound, sober and at the same time an economical way. We must be rational and put ourselves in that way.

Mr. Lincoln said, "All capital is the product of labor and could not exist without labor; now as a principle, this is fundamental." "A republic, as ours," he says, "is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people,"—so that everything that labor can produce belongs to the people that produce it,—that is a primary fact. Now, whose business is it to distribute these productions, make exchanges, and adjust all proper relations of men and their labor, ways and means, etc., surely the people's. If so, where does competition in industry come in rationally? Nowhere, for there can be no possible conflict of industrial interest, and so the actual business of society begins right here, and on the basis that justice be done to each, and is the concern of all. This is the best definition of an industrial combine and is foreshadowed in a small way by the existing combine or trusts all about us now in active operation, as if they were intent on getting back to the primary or fundamental idea. Liquor men will tell you that they admire Christ as a man, and no man ever taught a better business method than he. He labored as a carpenter at productive employment at Nazareth and, like Lincoln, was a man of the people, having the people's business interest at heart. Christ taught combination of business interests in many places and in many ways, among which he lays down this basic principle of business action, exactly harmonized within its practical application, by the spirit of combines of railroads, factories, etc., which they to be sure can apply to the few only included in them. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law." He was talking to men concerning their industrial business conduct with men, literally and practically. Does anyone suppose that he didn't know or that he was trifling with men, or that he was deceiving them, or that he was setting up a standard of business conduct so high that men, as men, could not attain to it, or that he gave it for a few, who needed it the least of any class, that is, the most intelligent? No, no, it's rather like the gospel placed within the reach of the tiniest of the human race, to enable him to develop to the best of his small ability, as well as within reach of the very greatest of mental and physical and financial acumen or endowment. This standard of business I insist that you should appropriate, digest and assimilate, realizing that it is the best method of business for you whether saint or sinner. The most rational, if there were no eternity, nothing beyond this life; it's not only the best, but the only rules of industry that harmonizes with our own sense, of common justice and I repeat, applicable alike for the most lowly specimen of humanity to the best developed gentleman or lady of America. Christ knew it; Lincoln knew it, and further indifference on your part or a shame-faced admission on your part, that you will not transact business that is best for you, because forsooth, it also helps another. The liquor men, who make no pretension that their business or business methods help any but their own families are consistency personified, when compared with the business methods of competition generally. Now, as a free agent to do good as well as to do evil, yet of the two preferring to do good do you wonder, when men hear you advocating moral and religious reform, that they say in words or in thought, "Physicians, heal thyself; be consistent yourself, in your business conduct, before you preach temperance reform to me."

The saloon business, which in itself is the most consistent example of the entire competitive system of business; for it does not pretend to be holy, just or good, while the so-called legitimate branches competitive business do. I beg of you to substitute the combine with its "As ye would" business methods, for the shamefully inconsistent competition and thus be enabled to unravel the puzzle. We are straining at a gnat (the saloon) and swallowing a camel (business competition). We are straining at effects, and petting and feeding and loving the cause. We are also on the other hand making a great ado about a few men, (trusts, combines, monopolies, etc.), who have business sense enough to combine in their own interest and swallowing the repulsive, nauseous, competitive system that makes honest men rogues and well disposed men sick at heart, yet who seemingly endure it as a kind of dispensation of providence, that it would be seemingly wrong in them to try to evade. Shame on us, for persisting in doing evil, that good may come, and calling Baal God and looking no further. We associate self-interest with selfishness, and then go on and define selfishness as "the essence of human depravity," and say that combines and trusts and corporations are self-interest and strut around and plume ourselves as being too wise and too good to ever have anything to do with a combine—whereas the facts are, we can no more get away from our self-interest than we can from our shadow, and our creator never intended that we should. The State has to build asylums for people who do not have sufficient self-interest. "Self preservation is the first law of nature." "Act out your real self-interest," answers the question of "How can I best obey this law?" and the answer comes back as an echo from the hills of God "obey this law." Combine and thus do the best you can to help others, that they may be disposed to, and better able, to help you; that is industrial or business combination—so please do not misunderstand me. I love the good, the true, and the beautiful too well to any longer deny myself of it, lest my fellow should also have his share of it and be helped by it; but rather would I help him, combine with him, to get it, that I might have it in its fullness for myself. This is not selfish, because God taught it and is teaching it today to all who have ears to hear. What effect will the business or industrial combines have upon drunkards? Eliminate the liquor business and that by the consent and co-operation of the liquor men.

Using money in its legitimate channel only, as a medium of exchange, our accumulation will naturally be in stock, that being the most productive and best property. Again, as all products rightfully belong to the producer, and when produced the production must be distributed to the sole advantage and financial benefit of the producer all must not only produce, but be the recipients of the benefits of all articles produced. This necessitates a system of business which must be conducted in the sole interest of the producer; so we have a combination of interest and we call it a combine. The combine sets the individual where he can be the most useful to it (every man in his niche) that is also where he can be the most useful to himself—some farmers, some carpenters, some lawyers and some doctors. Now, if business interest of one is, as it naturally is and will be, the business interest of all, I ask, "To whose business interest is it to make drunkards out of sober men?" or to taint the tastes of a future generation by an inherited taste for liquor, that makes a business man of less value to the combine, if not an absolute burden to it. The business interest of the combine is found in the best specimen of manhood that breeding and physical culture can produce. So it naturally becomes the studied interest of the Board of Health of the combine to supply such food,

drink, clothing, sanitation, etc., as is best calculated to nourish and conserve its business interest. There may be some with perverted tastes, inherited from the fathers and mothers of intemperate habits. They will be pitied and in no case despised, but like the cripple in a family, cared for the more tenderly. But the combine will make it its business to have the greatest possible proportion of the people able to produce, and willingly producing as much or more than they consume; and if it is found, and we think it will be, that rotten apples or potatoes, grapes, barley or rye, wheat or corn, or the fermented juices of these things, are unhealthy or cause workmen to be less able or less disposed to do their part of the combines work, or if you please, to transmit physical vitality to their children, then it logically becomes the business interest of the combine to deny them the use of these things, as it is positively done legally now, any supplying a better regimen, a better bill of fare, thus steadily approaching the highest state of physical health. Hygiene, under the existing competition, is practically impossible, any doctor will tell you so; hygiene, under the proposed combination, will be the rule; and as the physical health of the combine will become its real business interests, intemperance in eating and drinking will be the business of its board of health to eliminate, whose law then, as now, will be the highest and most inexorable law of the land. Again, the planing of the distribution of productions of farm or factory, is business; while the production itself is labor. So the quarrel between labor and capital is on neither the capital invested nor the labor which produced it, but on the business relations or method of distribution—and that only, as labor is all right and capital is all right. How, then, can we transact the simple business, so there can be no chance for quarreling? A mother is justly entitled to food and proper clothing equally with her husband; although her duties are unproductive household duties. Society, for good and sufficient reasons, has assigned it to her, and she as willingly accepts it as does the husband his position as bread-winner. Labor produces the necessities and luxuries of life, and as no one man can possibly produce everything his family needs, a business is immediately established to take proper charge of what is produced, and business, ex-officio, calls to its aid a necessary amount of labor—what for? To aid the original or first labor in the proper distribution of its own productions. So business does not distribute, but labor actually and in a most proper sense does it all, and business simply directs; yet as a matter of fact the director, the business man, of right and justice, is fed and clothed and is entitled to these on the same basis as the mother of the household is, and equally so whether he labors or not. Now, it is as absurd for the husband to pay the mother wages, as it would be for the mother to pay the husband wages; is it not? both are alike entitled to equal dividends produced on farm or factory. Another distributes, another directs it all, each does his part and is entitled to equal dividends, and if wages were absurd in the instance of husband and wife, it is equally absurd for society, the larger family, in any and all of its departments. Let me ask, if wages are pertinent at all, who should pay the wages, should the original workman pay the business man, or the business man pay the original workman?—which? They are as clearly one in interest as the husband and wife and the wage idea is vague and does not apply in either case. So we see that the quarrel is really caused by wages and is concerning wages. Now wage slavery need not, ought not, and cannot exist in the light of advancing civilization, any more than negro slavery, as in this expanding light, all men must see that it is to their own financial and business interest to combine, even if they do benefit somebody else.

by it, and combines implies dividends and wages exit. Why, sir or madam, it's no crime to do another good, even if competition has taught us to fight and cheat from babyhood. We make a great hue and cry about saloon men teaching children to drink, that they must find a market for more liquor, ~~bad~~ enough, I admit, but bless you, that good competitive financing, and in perfect harmony and accord with its methods everywhere, and quite as kindhearted and humane as the soul of business competition is capable of being. Again, wages humiliate a man in spite of himself and it's no use to deny it; no man is quite the man as a wage worker, that he would feel himself to be if he lived from his dividends or honest share, and was conscious of working for himself. This humiliation, liquor dealers as well as merchants and employers generally, make it their business to take advantage of, for their own profit under competition. Self-respect is an obstacle to the liquor traffic in every way.

The spirit of fairness prompted even the slaves to work for their master's, quite as much as the lash; yet, any slave would have felt himself more a man if he had been free. So a man humiliated by working for wages, is an easier prey to appetite, feeling that he is already down, a wage slave. In African slavery the master said, "Your time is mine, but of course it is to my interest to keep you well, and up to your best, physically, as long as I can, for I will have to take care of you when you can't work, as any owner would an old horse." Wage slavery, the employer practically says, "Your time is mine, just the same as the African slave, but you must keep yourself well, so as to render me the very best service, or I will discharge you, to tramp or starve for ought I care; as for me, I must successfully compete with others in business, or fail" and we see clearly that the employer is not to blame, and I am not blaming him, but let me ask you, so that you may study it all out before you answer, "Which of the two systems of slavery is the best, for the slave?" Observe that, in the first, the slave in real life worked himself up to be what he thought a life beyond required him to become, but in the second, the wage slave too frequently drifts downward on a current of indifference concerning any life beyond and becomes a drunk and too frequently his whole wage go to the liquor traffic, and both he and his offspring are a financial burden, either directly or indirectly, to society, but heartless competition goes right on, caring for none of these things. A combine of business interest must come to the drunkard's rescue. Financial self-interest is, from necessity, the strongest sentiment, in a popular government like ours, where the power originates with the people. That is self-government. Why we have not seen and acted on this fact long ago, is a conundrum. But line it up now, it's not yet too late, and all moral sentiment will be with it rather than against it. Civil liberty originated in self-interest, the war of the Revolution was fought and won by self-interest, no great attainment of individual or national life was ever reached, but by self-interest. We can't get away from ourselves, no more can we from our own interest and this same self-interest demands that we combine, unite, and quit this selfish competition, but unite for the common individual interest of all. This will settle the temperance question, and on a basis that is at once rational, fair and final, thus unloading the heavy burden, that the clergy, etc., have been trying to carry all alone on to the strong and efficient shoulders of The People's Business Combine.

Our earnest plea is for the home and drunkenness strikes first and most fatally at the home and the home must be guarded by the loyal heart of the nation or our common country will soon fall in

ruins about us—our safety is in guaranteeing a home to every American citizen but the combine needs no whisky.

I have before me a picture that talks. A mother gorgeously appareled sitting by a little bed, an empty glass and teaspoon in her hand, by her side kneels a beautiful boy with long curls—as if saying “Now I lay me down to sleep.” The mother more thoughtful than he seems to linger on the last line as if asking herself “What will the all Father do with my soul when He does take it.” my eyes close in pity and in the darkness I read in letters of lightning, “Am I my brother’s keeper.” I am startled by it and open my eyes but on another picture she is now fondly “tuckling him in” as he so much loves to have her do, he is looking at her as if asking where is papa, a smile lights up her face and her lips are parted as if speaking in answer. “Papa is all right, he is receiving the Congressional partners tonight, Congress does not dare to pass a law without asking your papa; he as president of the Brewers’ Association is the head of the political concern also, just the same as the city council could not pass an ordinance without consulting my interest as president of the Sellers’ Association, the council is in session now and they always send a delegation after each meeting to tell me what they have passed and to make out a program for the next meeting. Now Freddy, you have taken your toddy and said your prayers now put your trust in God and go to sleep, good night.” She is a little mixed you say, yes, whisky, politics, mother love, fear of the future, retribution, anything and everything but industry takes a hand in making laws for industry. Answer me what business has politics to meddle in industrial matters? What does industry need of whisky? Why make it? Now as to the liquor business itself it is unlike any other business, it cannot be classed as an industry, it is a medley of luxury and sin. Luxury is all right in its place, but sin has no place. Its transgression of law if it were sin alone we could hand it over to the clergy and also satisfy common law by punishment as we would murder, theft, etc., but it seems hardly fair (it’s born in us to be fair after all) to put goods into a fellow’s pocket, or on his person or in his person, if you please, and then make up a case in court against him on this kind of a plea; yet, drunkenness is a crime, and why do we look upon it as preferred stock in a company. I answer, “Largely because we make money out of it; we sell the right to get drunk and to make drunks, as an indulgence for so much money in hand paid; the fact that it’s blood money or hush money does not deter us so anxious are we for money that we would sell doves in the temple of God for money.” I am not blaming anybody for doing it, for “every fellow for himself” and it’s very frequently “do it or starve,” and the end (money) justifies the means. Oh! why don’t we plan just a little and give these liquor dealers something better and more profitable to do. I said the liquor business; is a luxury or amusement as well as a money making business in this it is peculiar to itself and competition. So if it were sin alone or amusement alone, it would be manageable by recognized methods suitable to either one, but including both, they stand out and must be dealt with apart and there is absolutely no way to successfully manage them but to give them into the powerful and efficient control of a business combine competent to control both the appetite and arrange for a better way to make money than to make and sell whisky for money.

Some of you are ready to say, “I know we have failed and are failing in our opposition to the saloon, but your tackling competition as a business method, was never undertaken before, aye we must remove the cause and the effect will cease.” I have avoided metaphysics in all these letters and do not wish to get into its domain

here, and will leave it to the reader to study out if he chooses; but the fact is that the so-called competitive method of business is really the absence of any method, i. e., not a method at all, a kind of continuation of the child's impulse or way, on up into the adult age. A combine, on the other hand, is doing business by a well defined method. Competition is chaos and chaotic, combination is a definite proposition or rule of action, so we do not need to try to tackle competition, there is nothing to tackle; but combine in and adopt a methodical way and competition will go, as darkness goes when the light comes in. So you see, that self-government, a definite form of political government, really needs the industrial combine, a definite industrial method of business procedure, when I said that the liquor traffic is a medley of sin and luxury I defined competition, exactly for it is a medley of sin and luxury also; and if a purely business combine becomes light in the darkness, in the one case, it will in the other, and if competition the cause will go on forever if we do not combine, so the liquor traffic the effect will go on forever if we do not combine. This is no metaphor or figure of speech, but a truth, a fact. Again, family life cannot exist without fraternal authority no authority no family life; so competition being nothing cannot have authority in the very nature of things, and society needs, society must have authority or there can be no society life. So under self-government how are you going to control saloon-business, you do not because you cannot. And further, no authority but family authority is applicable to our American society, as our society is the larger family; hence society must have the Industrial Combine in order to continue the family method of authority, from the point where the family authority naturally ends on up to the very end of life—so we argue that prohibition must continue to fail because it cannot have the backing or any business authority while competition prevails, so we must have a business authority; we must have a business head—a combine, if you please—before we can have any authority over the liquor traffic. Moral suasion is mere child's play in the premises. Society must have authority given to it synonymous in character to family authority, identical in spirit with the authority of existing combines, which are governed in the self-interest of stockholders. If there were no other reason for the formation of the Industrial Combine, it would be "worth while" to form it, in order to put society in a position to control drunkenness and yet be perfectly fair with the liquor dealer, and gaining, having not only his friendly consent but his hearty co-operation. Do you say for any alleged reason it cannot be done? Then you tacitly say railroads can't combine—if one has the other can, and for practically the same reasons and in practically the same way. This practical solution of the liquor business is almost inexhaustible in its reasonable resources, but I cannot follow it any further here. I can only hope that I have enabled you that are engaged in it to see this traffic as a real calamity in its effects, and also you who are fighting it to see that, to be fair, you must plan to give these men better employment and not to turn them our empty-handed; it is unfair not to say unchristian—they, too, are our brothers. So I feel that I have now put you on a path to prohibition that will prohibit. Our America "land of the noble free" (now itself getting half the proceeds of the liquor business) must go out of the business of making drunks out of sober men (who are irresponsible children of a larger growth) and by taking charge of the stock of drunks now on hand, make them into sober men.

I stand amazed at the childish attitude of full-grown men and women—aye, my blood boils with indignation at the criminality of good people holding out the cup of poison to the helpless child of

any age, and virtually, saying, "Here it is, take it, better not take it, but here it is, drink plenty of it on every corner, everywhere, and we, the people, are making more; don't drink it, but if you do your mother can feed it to you with sugar and mint; don't drink it, if you do ruin will be sure to follow; if you did not drink it, we good people would not have it made," and you are and will be the only (?) one to blame—what irony! It is an axiom that a drunkard won't drink if he can't get it, and if he is put where he can't get it, or it is not manufactured, either will stop drunkenness, and nothing else will; so which shall we do, put about half of our people in the penitentiary, so that they may get "cold sober," or quit making the poison. Listen!. It takes all the points mentioned in the People's Industrial Combine to grapple with this disease, this monster evil; nothing else will and nothing more is required. I have mentioned it before, but I am in earnest in this matter that I add line upon line, and will mention again that the law, the law of substitution, must be obeyed. The great attractive force of Christian civilization like salvation, is that it gives a better life. Good people have thought of the coffee saloon, home saloon, temperance drinks, etc., little thinking that it was not the drinks so much as it is the money, the wealth to be gained to the liquor traffic, that has and does make it invincible against all that has heretofore been tried; and it laughs at the simplicity of the individual for undertaking to match a corporation. Wealth being the active cause for the existence of the saloon, so the substitute must be a substitute of wealth, not of drinks, mind you, but of wealth. The liquor men are not so attached to their methods of gaining wealth, but that they will accept a better method of industrial procedure, a method that will not debase. As a temperance man, I deny for them that they take delight in making brutes out of sober men. They deplore it and would not do it but for the money there is in it. Once offer them a more profitable method and they will accept it. It is profits and not liquor; it is a home, food, clothing for self and family that they want, and not the saloon or the brewery. They are human and want just what we all want, so why not give it to them that we may have it for ourselves. The way of a people's business combine is not only a practical way, but it is the only way. I challenge any man, Christian or infidel, to find another. We have also reached the point where business is competent to take up and pigeon-hole the liquor problem and satisfactory to saloon men as well as to teetotalers. It is purely a business proposition, but morals and Christianity will rejoice at the results.



What Effect Will Industrial Equality Have Upon Banks and Banking.

Banking is the highest, most perfect, most efficient method of business procedure, has been and is and will be the indicator, showing the respective rank of civilizations. Civil liberty and industrial liberty are fast friends, but separate and distinct personalities each may and does sustain the other. Banking, as taught in the schools, is a fascination, both to the teacher and the taught; I would delight to follow out and say pleasant things about it, but can only briefly refer to a few of its attractive features. It is ideal in its business methods, hence just adapted to combines, for they are business perfections, and if so, will as surely be appropriated and used by a combination of the combines, when absorbed by all the people into one industrial combine, so there may be no business confusion expected either in the transient stage or after the industrial combine is inaugurated. It will be conducted on the most learned business principles, and banks, in the very nature of things, will forever be the medium through which all the business relations of the larger family will be conducted. I want to rivet your attention to the "larger family" because the family, with but few exceptions, and there should be no exceptions, is moved by motives of self-interest. This same motive will be adopted by the larger family, the Industrial Combine, or Society, as it is just now being done by railroad combines, coal combines, oil combines, etc., and in the interest of their stockholders, "their little families," do you see? So we very appropriately call self-interest in business the "combine idea," but we see that it is only the family idea carried on up into the larger family, the combine; we can see that during the family existence, that is, until the children are of age, and while they are subject to paternal authority, that self-interest is the law of family life, and that selfishness is transgression of that family law, and is punishable and should be and usually is punished. There comes a time, however, when family jurisdiction ends and the father or mother can no longer punish; but the same character of government, mind you, is relevant and of a right ought to continue, both for the good of the now-called citizen of twenty-one and also for the parents now called society, "the combines," if you please, for the fact that the child is now called a citizen, does not intimate but that he still needs both care and restraint, the two family prerogatives, and that as positively after he is twenty-one as he did before; and furthermore, society, in the capacity of parent, must be actuated by an affection akin to, if not identical with, filial affection, and must be and of a right ought to be entitled to the esteem and consideration due to parents; so where does selfishness apply to the child over twenty-one less than to the child under twenty-one? You may say: Ah, that may be a very pretty theory, but it is utopian and visionary, and we great thinkers (?) know better. Do you, indeed? Listen; because Belshazzar could not read the handwriting on the wall

(Daniel, 15th chapter), he was not at liberty to say, and it would have been folly for him to have decreed that there was no writing there, so because you cannot read the significations of the combines, all around us—yea, on us—it is equally folly for you to ignore them and call the People's Industrial Combine utopian and visionary. When you think it all out, you will see that the combine idea is identical with the family idea, therefore kind and helpful, and that both are actuated by self-interest, which they, by a force as irresistible as fate, are entitled to and will compel your respect, and ere long your admiration, as they are this very moment permeating every industrial and economic department of America. "God speed the day" when the People's Industrial Combine will be adopted.

As I have intimated "banking is an exact science." Hence, it is admirably adapted to the exact and equal justice and methods of doing business, to the people's industrial procedures. If it is so needful now when only a tithe of the people can have any business relation with banks, what will it be when all the families have money to deposit and draw out as needed, for is not dividends included in the combined idea, and is not deposits included in the dividend idea, and does not deposits necessitate a bank and banking?

The horrifying question which is making the people behave something like the maniac (Mark, 5 chapter; read it), namely, What will we do with the combines anyhow? will show about as marked and desirable effect when we ask the more sensible and pertinent question, What can the combine be made to do for us? So, don't lose your head, my brother; to be sure there is an industrial storm on, but you need your head and your heart, too, for you have a twin brother aboard and he an invalid, and you are expected to act for yourself and him. I say again, let your head and heart act now in unison. America is its men, remember—not its ships, its railroads, farms, factories, or business houses, but by these things we are enabled to see the man behind them all, and so, as parents are known by their children, so is a nation abroad, the larger family, known by its citizens, and the bank sits proudly and appropriately at the top of the very summit, managing the business of industrial attainments, a proud representative, both at home and abroad. Now that it is so clear that society is really our larger family, a corresponding affection is needful and will spring up, a companion for each other, a planning for the entire family.

The very helplessness of labor appeals to our family sympathy. Many of our people clearly do not know what to do; they are lost in a maze. There is no use for longer mincing matters or saying he or she is of age. True, but the greater the pity, for not only they, but their families mutely appeal to us; hard words from hard hearts can never help them or save you. Society must take the place of parents of these incompetent multitudes, and guide the adult aright, instead of turning them out, saying they are of age, to be trodden down or, worse, for the wiser ones to learn to 'steal under the polished non-deplume "competition." As we hope for industrial mercy, let us show mercy, and the view I would have you take, and the love I would have you show, is maternal, paternal and fraternal, showing a beckoning hand, a helping hand—the hand of the combine.

I recognize that the last thing that a banker wishes to admit is that there is any emergency in his affairs and I sympathize with him and seek to adjust the labor problem (for it is peculiarly a labor problem, a war between salaried men and wage men), by avoiding the new and untried and utilizing the already existing provisions for conducting large business undertakings, the corporation. I recog-

nize also to accomplish anything so great as the settling of this great labor problem there must be a united and strong effort of strong men, men of financial acumen, for it is largely a financial undertaking. I recognize also that stability and soundness are the first requisites for any successful financial proposition. Novelty is the last. Corporation is the old, the tried way. With it we can adjust this labor problem. It does not take virtue, morals, goodness to become a stockholder. May there not be some tangible way to lift the homeless into a home and the unemployed into employment, and start humanity without coin on a high level, where it will be possible for them then, as it is for you now, to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, which you, as a banker, know that it is not possible for them to do now and unaided? Neither would it be for you if fortune should put you in their place. So, then, the command comes to you especially, uniquely. Listen, now, and I think you will hear from across the Sea of Galilee the Master say, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so unto them." There is no higher expression of refinement, of culture, than this.

So you see it is not proposed to change the existing order of business, but only the motive behind business, adopting the motive of the combine, which is one of real self-interest to all its stockholders, with a home to live in and money to live on. You are better competent than I to follow out all the advantages and inducements that must necessarily follow when it becomes somebody's business (our business) to see to it that every man, woman and child is at their best, physically, mentally, and financially, able to do their fair share of work. A medical Board of Health intent only on keeping people well can reasonably prevent over-eating or over-drinking or the farther use of any unhealthy drugs. Why not? We all belong alike to the combine and have become parties in interest.

I apprehend we will use the same money, buy just what we want to eat and wear, no more no less (and being assured by the Board of Health that both food and drugs are free from poison), as we do now, and having the money to buy with, we need not go in debt.

Any accumulations of the combine over and above paying the monthly dividends, from a mill to a million, will be put where it will do us individually the most good, namely into the combine, it offering the greatest financial inducement; hence, it will be able to open up and develop productively. It is a way, a practical business way, to meet needful wants and control vicious desires, thus enabling the people, all the people, to attain and have real liberty, the liberty of industry, akin to if not identical with the civil liberty of our fathers. We may have been a long time in getting to this industrial liberty, but, thanks to the existing combines for showing us definitely the way to it, we are home at last, and with provisions in plenty, and the best of it all is we are "all, all here." And as we look back over the rough, competitive way that we have come, the strangest thing of it all is, that we ever could have spent these weary years in but little else than in throwing our brother off of the home track. Blindly, but somehow believing that the only way to get home ourselves was to keep our brother from getting a home, so little knowing, so little realizing, that the best way, in fact the only business way, of getting a home for ourselves was to see to it, and as part of our business that our brother also has a home, too, and also that the only business way to make sure of our job is to see that every other one has a job; hence no one is left out to jump into our job or selfishly

crowd us out. These beautiful facts might seem like a dream to us were it not for the wideawake railroad combines, oil combines, coal combines, etc., all exemplifying the reality of and convincing our senses, so that we are compelled to open our eyes to the light of day and see that the combine is as feasible and practical, as real and material, as a bank and banking, and definite as a time lock.



What Effect Will Industrial Equality Have Upon the Saloon?

The fear of the mother-heart is of the saloon, so it is pertinent that this postscript note on how to get rid of the saloon should follow my letter to young women.

Nearly all reformers have tried to run liquor men out of business, resulting in arousing their animosity and resentment, bringing on a fight and a firmer setting of their teeth, as if to say, "We'll show you we are not going to be run out." And they back up their determination by taking a firmer grip. Diplomacy would have been better than fight, but self-interest is better than diplomacy. Self-interest is the soul of self-government, hence loyalty as well. To be sure, the saloon is a legitimate child of competition, and I sometimes think the brainiest one of the lot. It certainly has excellent health and is likely to live as long as its father. But go slow here, for you and I, as temperance people, have a money interest in the saloon, and don't you forget it, for in a very real sense the saloon is the agent of the government (that's you and I) in disposing of our wares. The saloon-keeper is not only our agent, but he is the brewer's agent; so he must have a good moral character, or he could not become our agent of course, and he must have a good financial standing, or he could not become the brewer's agent. So, if we look at it right, a man is not so much worse than his neighbor after all; and as we, the government, tax whisky, etc., for about half of its selling price, so we, the government, own, while you are reading this, practically a half-interest in all the breweries. I may refer to the fact again, but to return to our saloon, ours because we have a big financial interest in their sales and general success, for do we not get another big sum of money from saloons as license, in many instances as much as they do, so we have a half-interest here also. These are gratifying facts. I said we were interested in the saloon-man's financial success; yes, to be sure, for if he did not make money he could not pay his license, then, what would we do for money with which to run the city government? Again, as we have said, we would not have given the saloon-keeper a license if it had been shown that he was not of good moral character. As the business is really ours, and he being our agent, it is not politic, it is not honorable, for us to employ an agent to do a thing unless we can step in and take his place while he is at lunch. (Aside) Are you ready to do it? Ha! ha! There is no better way to get a fair view of a man than to put yourself in his place and to see ourselves as others see us. You and I are behind the saloon bar—wince at it though you may (though many of us under protest, I agree)—and will remain there until Gabriel blows his horn, if the competitive system is not supplanted by industrial combination. We may howl as long and loudly and as consistently as the four hundred prophets of Baal, and still the easy, merry mode of making money in the liquor business will keep it alive and well. Nothing less than

to give saloon men a better business relation to enter upon will ever reach the case, and as long as money is America's God, and the vice and license that money buys is put into the hands of the few, so that they can at will humiliate and enslave the many, just so long will saloons exist as a means of getting that money. This is not pessimism; this is fact. I am an optimist because I see that the business common sense of saloon men themselves, when brought to see the industrial possibilities of the Combine, will join in its adoption.

The Combine is not a temperance, or a religious, or a social, or a fraternal, or a political, but purely a business organization, to direct labor and its production, its delicious fruits, and properly gather them in to be impartially distributed to be used by all the people. But I have to say that while we are living and that by the consent of all the people under the iniquitous competitive system, where men are measured by the dollar standard and where goodness of heart is willfully trampled under foot in the mad rush for more and yet more and more dollars, that while we so live I can have few hard words to say against saloon men. The saloon is only one means to an end, and it is the end where ruin runs riot. Wealth to buy power or influence, rather than for men to merit preferment by innate goodness of heart, is idolatry.

The Combine will give these saloon boys and men something to do that they can make a better living and have a home to live in in the bargain, and they will quit the saloon business willingly. Many I say, if not most of them, are in the business under protest. Observe that the young men among them who enter the saloon business compare favorably with other classes, in honest ability, mentally and physically. Many are employed because they are teetotalers; but, listen, nearly all enter it on account of the inducement it offers to them to get a living, and who is to blame? Let me illustrate our predicament. It was against the law to kill deer. A hunter was arrested and proved guilty before a panel of twelve jurymen, but the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." The hunter's attorney, even, could not understand why, until the hunter explained in a whisper, "Every one of those jurymen had a piece of that deer." So wealth has so far destroyed the finer sensibilities and the consciences of the people that they will not legislate against the saloon or permit you and I to do so, and never will under competition, because there is money, both public and private, in it for them. Ah, we have come to a point where patchwork won't do. A movement must be made of sufficient magnitude and magnanimity to command respect, and carrying with it a justifiable inducement as well, and be so luminous and bright with new light as to attract and hold the attention of all classes, and also so convincing in its character as to show on its very face that the end (self-interest) of all justifies the means. This is a revelation so fascinating that we yield to it as we do to love, but remember nothing less than the Combine will meet these requirements. Take another view. As I have intimated, I have a better opinion of brewers and saloon-keepers than to believe they really want to make brutes of other men or become brutes eventually themselves, just for the love of it. They are in the business for the money, first, last and all the time; so, after taking away the necessity for them to store up or of accumulating money for living purposes, as all our physical wants will be amply supplied by the dividends of the Combine. These will be found to be men as well as we, but if any still care for drink on account of their depraved appetites, they are entitled to our sympathy and protection. The Industrial Combine will not need whisky, and so will not make it.

The law now does not permit the sale of spoiled meat, vegetables, etc., so it may not permit the sale of spoiled grape juice or the liquid from rotten corn, wheat, rye or barley. You and I will feel safe with this whole matter left to a Board of Health, doctors, etc., who live on the dividends of the Combine, and who are not in the least influenced by money considerations, but whose whole duty it is to keep people well.

I confess I do not see a better use for the saloon buildings than to carpet and otherwise beautify them, and thus make them suitable for residences—temporary, at least. And the brewery buildings may be used as great canneries of the pure, unfermented grape juice, made into syrup for food. But let thinkers think it out on purely business and economic lines, having their own self-interest and the self-interests of all the people at heart, not at all biased by what money there is in it.

We are told that more liquor is drunk per capita now than formerly, that saloons are on the increase, and that they are controlling politics more and more. In view of this fact, let me ask you, "Is reform a success now? Will it ever be?" To ask these questions is but to answer them in the negative. Now, in view of your past endeavor, and the direction we are going, and the rate of progress we are making, how long will it be until we reform into prohibition? Listen; I have been a church man for about fifty years, never drank a gill of intoxicating liquor in my life, and have frequently voted the prohibition ticket. I have believed, when seeing that the saloon was gaining on us, that there was no other way but to redouble our diligence along the reform pathway, but in plain view of the fact must say reform will never reach the case, and thoughtfully, it is as well that it cannot, for it shows us the greater evil, the leading cause of which we have failed to see, largely because we have been trying to remove an effect, at the same time nurturing, cultivating, almost sacredly guarding the cause. We have been saying to our boys, "Get rich; compete for it, fight for it"; and to our girls, "Marry dollars, or remain single." Wealth, wealth, wealth, honorably if you can forcibly if you must. Listen again; a cause can easily be removed, and its effect will cease, but an effect cannot be exterminated and seldom remedied, while the cause is allowed to live. Take a California example: An irrigating ditch is leaking. We try heroically to fix the break, yet it leaks more and more. We work harder and harder until exhaustion meets despair, and to keep from being drowned by the torrent. We step aside to think and take a quiet look at the wild waste of water, and ask ourselves, "Is there no other way?" Then, like a revelation, we think of the upper headgate. We hasten to close it down, and the water is turned into an entirely different channel. "Go thou and do likewise." The water was all right; wealth is all right, but both need directing.

We have probably pursued this part of our subject far enough lest we lose our prestige and influence by being mistaken for a prohibition crank, and our method, simply anti-saloon, that and nothing more. But the People's Business Combine can be nothing but, and purely is, a business; and its business is to care alike for all our interests, no matter who and what we are or how we have been making our living. So each and every one can join hands in its establishment as purely a business enterprise, remaining quite different, if we prefer, to any other effect it may have upon us as individuals or upon society as a whole.

Letter to the Clergy.

I am conscious of the fact that in the People's Industrial Combine I bring to you a proposition that will triumphantly and permanently settle the quarrel now on between Labor and Capital, and in the lasting interests of both. Though it is not a pronounced religious way I am sure it will be popular with the people and especially appeal to your sympathy. It will also put into the hands of the kindly disposed an authority, an ability to say to industrial evils, such as competition, saloons, etc., that we have agreed together as a people to get along without you.

Moral suasion is all right, but it is not efficient in some aspects of family government, and you have no doubt often said, if he were my child I would restrain him, etc., so in society, the larger family, you have come up against this or that social evil, and felt the need of the same kind of authority to restrain by love for the good of the child. We are living in a transitional state, a transition from competition to combination, which this kind of restraint and direction will be possible, applicable and clearly just what is needed. The God of the universe, so it seems to me, is managing things with a master-hand, and, as we believe, will bring glorious results out of what has heretofore been overlooked or considered by men as madness and ruin. So that we will do well to observe what the wise Gamaliel said (Acts v: 39). "But if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it; lest, haply, ye be found even to fight against God." So let us, his professed followers, fall into His order. At one time the political independence from England was considered impracticable, but a time came when it became a fact. Christianity may have gained but little by our independence if that was all, for were we not about as free to serve God "according to our own conscience" before as after? England was nominally a Christian nation. The facts are, the real Christian element in the Declaration of Independence was industrial, rather than political, but this was overshadowed or covered up at the very first by war, and then by political organization—the war of 1812, the Mexican war of 1846, and the settling of the cloud of African slavery, the political attracting all the attention and the industrial suffering in silence. But did there not exist during all these years a cause of yet deeper grief to Him who was watching over us with fatherly patience and solicitude? We, like boys, continued to boast and brag over the American Eagle to the neglect of the suffering among us, caused by this, our neglect of industry and has permitted this inequality of wealth.

The all-wise Father no doubt desired and expected us to be more aggressively Christian, as an independent nation, than we had begun or could ever have become under the English nation as a political dictator. But many of us have not understood Him. Others have quite willingly worshipped "wealth," the popular god, and so persistently that all our education and training has been turned in

that fashionable direction, and the natural question, "How shall I get rich?" soon became so general that it was finally thought permissible to pull another down, instead of the more slowly accumulating by natural productions and legitimate trade. Even the followers of Christ somehow have managed to join in the ever-fashionable race (mistaking selfishness for self-interest in business affairs), which growing more and more impetuous, until all human rights are ignored, trampled under foot, and the banner of the enemy is flying everywhere, "Get rich honestly if you can; at all events get rich." Peter might have said unto us, as he did to the people (Acts iii: 17), "Through ignorance ye did it." Our business and industrial conduct as Americans is and has been so shamefully mistaken and become so very inconsistent with the teaching of Christ that we hang our heads or wince when we hear men and women that we try to reach with the truths of salvation say, Christ is all right but Christians are not consistent in business affairs. Others are down under foot and troubled over their abject poverty caused by the inequality of wealth; and still others, absorbed in vexatious thought over their losses by cruel competition in trade; others distressingly anxious about the results of speculative gambling; others vastly rich, yet being pursued like a hunted hare by a richer than they—all going pell-mell, no time to think of God or of aught else but to keep what they have and get more, unmindful of the Father having said, and saying, "Do unto others as ye," etc. "Combine your interests, children, there is enough for all." Don't be so grasping and quarrelsome.

So the forms of Godliness too often have taken the place of vital piety among its professed followers, and the irreligious that we had hoped to reach are disgusted when they are reminded that this is a professed Christian nation. Such is our industrial inconsistency, and yet other instances will occur to you when you try with me to think out the fact and what we must do about it.

The most natural thought, and the one that comes to us first, is the one of reform. Christians have all these years been urging reform, reform, reform, but with the present result. I am not scolding, but what we must have is a new and distinct business center. Self-interest, industrially, must take the place of selfishness, and it can and will then harmonize with our Republican form of government, and not till then.

National progress, owing to our intensive industry and the combination of capital in spite of competition, has been steadily on the increase. The political condition of the nation is one of pardonable pride. Statistics show great gain in wealth in the aggregate, and some have settled down to believe that from this fact somehow, although you and I cannot understand how, we are really better Christians than we get credit for being. Maybe so, but could we not be that and yet have little enough Christianity in our business procedures for competition among the masses, is still waging. Our reputation is certainly not up to par with our privileges as a Republic. We stand condemned before Him who said, "For unto whomsoever much is given of him shall be much required" (Luke xii: 48). We started toward industrial equality in our national youth; it was implied in our Declaration of Independence, but we very soon switched off and the preaching of industrial fairness, little heeded at the first, became less and less influential, so popular had competition become, until now we are almost ashamed to use the word reform. The facts are, a man can no more reform into a fit subject for Heaven than our nation can reform and continue at the

same time the competitive idea of business. It is a relic of barbarism, and it stands diametrically opposed to the Christ teaching. Love is the fulfilling of the law, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matt. xxv: 40) is practical business, taught by the Christ, and must be taught as a purely business principle and to the industrial interests of all.

An industrial combine of all productive property above a home and its belongings may seem radical until we look at the conditions foreshadowed by the Postal Department as an imperfect and crippled example. This shows that we accepted the principle and of right can extend it.

Take a negative point of view: Have you thought how unjustly the people have already appeared to be to selfish capitalists as they claim, depriving them of their just rights? It is justice they may say, to own and claim rents from every court house, State capitol and National capitol; all these should be owned by private capital and rented to the government, as well as all schoolhouses, asylums, alms houses, etc. They may say, just think of the audacity of the people to presume to own and exempt from taxation this immense wealth, competing, mark you, against us and making us pay all the taxes, as well as feeding all prisoners, soldiers, the feeble-minded, etc. Private capital could make out a very good case against the people. Now, if the people already control, say half of the property, and thus enter into active competition against private capital, is it not clear that either one or the other or both must fail in the end? A house thus divided against itself cannot stand. And also, if the public has rights up to this point, may she not continue those rights to the end? My effort is not to advocate government ownership, but get away from incrustated notions that a man must own homes and productive property to sell and speculate with or on, in order to be happy and free. Surely, if one is at liberty to sell, another is at liberty to buy, of course, with the result ultimately of owning vast property, and thus repeating, over and over again, the conditions that are now defeating Christianity, and forever will, and all in the name of a mistaken conception of personal liberty.

Tentative treatment will not avail, will not get us out; we must be bold and emphatic; we must shine out from a new business center, and it must be so radical and of attractive force sufficient to move the great heart of the people, knowing no party, no nationality or creed. We have intimated that competition has been the former rule of industrial action, and if so, continued Christian morals must forever be on the defensive. Then, again, if we do not, as a people, reach out and with a masterly hand lay hold on combination, now in its infancy, and compel it to serve all the people, it may grind some of us to powder. Think of it in its effects. The combine, as we now have it, is interested only for those who are in it, of course. They may give special favors, for, like special favors in return to other combines, and bribe a bare majority of the people by giving them a little stock, but what will become of the other half? We may say that Job's wife was a hard-hearted woman, but she fitly represents the situation and the abjectly poor left out in that she advised Job to curse God and die. But be this as it may, there is a passing opportunity never before demanded and will never again be offered for Christianity to take a stand for the home, and we believe she will but if not taken now it will never, in the very nature of things, be so near us again; hence our duty is imperative. I class it not, however, as a kind of a doleful duty, but rather as a gladsome priv-

ilege without any restraint from any source to step out and up and on. Give other men an agreeable home here and I think we will be the more likely to have such an one in eternity.

I have in this chapter to the clergy referred to such things as most naturally concern them, but this and other chapters, though incomplete, have some points of added interests in them, and I hope you will read them also. My central idea in all these pages is that the time has now come when society as a whole must enter into the inheritance of its own industries, and so bring both labor and capital under one management, and thus stop the fight.

We must not permit our wealth to be monopolized by a few, while thousands of our people, as deserving as the few, are homeless. Intellect has suffered by the evil conditions under which our people have lived, and character has not and cannot attain to the Christian ideal, because of sordid teachings. The need is for the clergy, the lawyer, the doctor, the mechanic and the workman, skilled in either muscle or mind, and with all the intelligence and mental stamina that he possesses, to unite for the common good. Of course, some may sulk and scold, but let US do right and have a courage equal to the emergency. We may get the practical workings a little clearer by asking a few questions, and giving their answers. "I crossed the Atlantic to study the phenomenal growth of America," said an Englishman. "I meet a man at his gate and in genial conversation I say to him, 'You have a splendid home.' 'Yes, sir; we feel very much at home here. It came down to us from our grandfathers, and there is something about it that we cannot find elsewhere.' 'How much is your home worth?' 'Oh, sir, homes are not for sale. Mine was given me by the government to keep and it would not seem right to sell it if I could.' 'Excuse me, but I understood you to say that it came down to you from your grandfather.' 'Yes, so it did, but the government guarantees it to me in a peculiar sense and a most positive title. It is like this: at the time of the transition I happened to have a vast amount of property in my possession, this home amongst other things, all of which the government assumed control of by paying me for it, which pay I valued highly at the first, but the pay gradually lost attractiveness, being excelled by the attractiveness of the new education of doing unto others just as you would have them do unto you, which in its working results so far excelled the old idea of selfish grabbing for everything in reach that, as I say, the pay I got from the government, which they gave me just to satisfy me, has now but little attraction for me.' 'But why did the government buy your home property?' 'Well, as I see it now, for two or three reasons. So widespread had the idea become of buying and selling for profit, that I really thought that I must sell it, sell anything and everything. Nothing was of any value that a man could not sell was my teaching, as I now see it, a monstrous fallacy. The government bought everything from me. Most of the people that had beautiful homes bought them back again, simply agreeing to the government's restriction and taking the government's guaranty as a homestead, so it could not be taken from them or any member of their family after them, as there is no way of getting rid of a homestead you know except by abandoning it, and then it goes back to the government.' 'Do people ever abandon their homesteads?' 'Oh, yes; some for climatic reasons, some for the reason of getting closer to their choice for work, some because their homes are too large and hence burdensome. In these cases they would arrange with the government to take care of part, or exchange the whole for a smaller, neater and more compact

homestead. After all, a home just large enough to accommodate one's family is the nicest size.' 'But you said you sold your home to the government. On what conditions and how did you get it back?' 'Oh, the government gave it back, as it always did homesteads. Of course, I return what it paid me for it, but the real title I hold to my home, to all legal intents and purposes, comes through the government instead of from my grandfather. I really never had a secure title to it before, for it could have been taken for my debts and was subject to taxation, and even if no one else took it, the city and county or State could have taken it for taxes; not so now, as no homestead is taxed. Another peculiarity about it is that no member of my family, nor all of them together, can sell it away from me, and it would not be right for me to have the privilege of selling it away from them. You see, another just reason why the government bought my homestead besides the reasons that I wanted to sell it, and that it wanted to guarantee to me a better title than any individual could possibly give me, was a disposition on the part of the government to treat all alike in the distribution of homes. As it is, all are alike secure, and as nearly satisfied as is possible to satisfy human nature. All feel that the government has been fair with them at any rate, and if their home was not just their ideal of what a home should be at the first, the government, in providing them all with work, co-operative effort, giving such magnanimous returns in dividends, made them all feel that it would be only a matter of a year or two when they would be able to make their homes ideal to them. I assure you, however, that it is not those who have the largest homes that are the most elated and pleased with them. 'You spoke of the magnanimous return for work.' 'Yes., the monthly dividend on our stock in the great combine (in other words as a great industrial department of government, is magnanimous and no mistake, and it is reasonable to expect that it should be when we take into account that it has every advantage in its favor, not only all original production, but perfect control of all the avenues of distribution.' 'But about distribution of dividends, does every one have to take a certain portion of what is produced?' 'No, no; they get their dividends in cash or its equivalent, and buy what they please. Some like a good bill of fare, but do not care so much for fine clothes; others like a nobby house, but do not care so much for an elegant turnout. When the members of a family get their dividends for the month they deduct as much as required for the necessities of life and divide the remainder up among the luxuries—it may be a new veranda to the house, a new bicycle, an extra box of oranges, or a summer hat—or they may set a portion of it aside from month to month, to buy a turnout; or they may be kindly disposed towards some one acting as a missionary in a foreign land, and with glad hearts set apart all above a necessity for them. The Board of Health of the Industrial Combine only requires that all workers shall be kept up to their highest standard of usefulness, and if any fall below that standard the cause is inquired into by this medical board and proper steps taken.'

"'But how are those cared for who are unable from any cause to work?' 'Why, if they do not belong to any certain family, as nearly all do now, an allotment is made for them.' 'These running expenses of the government must be very great!' 'True, but not nearly so great as they were before the government, through the combine, assumed control, for the very good reason that every one cares now, being one in interest, whereas, then, his rise depended on downing a fellow-man, and he was interested, not in good govern-

ment, but only in getting up higher himself. The combine pays all running expenses far more economically than they were ever paid before.' 'But is there not danger of failure of the dividends?' 'No, not in the least. A general famine even would not affect us much, for the heads of industrial departments have much in storage, of such things as are susceptible of storage, and a local failure of crops would not affect us at all, because our network of railroads can distribute so quickly. Then it is the business of some of the heads of departments to keep posted and anticipate any probable shortness of crops and prepare for it in advance; and then again, even if the whole of the United States were short on some crop, international trade would come to our relief, and to pay for desirable foreign commodities, our manufactories might be run day and night if necessary to produce articles to export in exchange for the increase of imports, and thus, by economizing and co-operation in all our industries, our dividends are sustained.' 'But how about mechanics, merchants, etc., to run these mills—hand manufactories? Farmers must be idle, and this class of men over-worked.' 'No, not at all. A slight change may be necessary in the distribution of workmen, for a time, so as to leave experts in charge, but such a contingency is anticipated in the apprenticeship; a sufficient number of young men and women for the unskilled class of workers are trained by the industrial schools and ready for these emergencies.' 'But I am more concerned about how you reconcile the change from the old conditions of work when you please, where you please, and for whom you please. Does it not amount to a surrender of his liberty for one to go into the Combine's employment?'

"Indeed, sir, you are laboring under a very great misconception, as the very reverse is true. In the first place, we have a certainty of dividends for the uncertainty of wages that existed then in every department of industry. Second, You then worked at whatever you could catch, instead of when, where, and for whom you please. We now are able to choose our work, at least to have a second or third choice. Wages existed then and were usually based on mere subsistence, with no home. Now we have a home assured to us, and in a very just sense we are our own employers, as we own the combine, and are working for ourselves. No, sir, we do not care to go back to wages any more than a slave to slavery.'

"'Were you not afraid to venture to cut loose from the old wage system?' 'Not at all, after we were brought to see that labor had always been in the end anyhow, its own paymaster. The capitalist, to be sure, sometimes advanced the laborer his daily or weekly wages, but he of course always expected that this amount would be returned with double or many times the amount he had advanced to labor, and that a time would soon come when the laborer would pay his own way, so it seemed plain that labor could, if it would, employ itself and pay itself in dividends—if not, why not? So, with the consent and aid of the professions, as well as business men who had become convinced that competition was a dismal failure, and that combination was a dangerous mbocni'paihwh?pejtwould n'nMv'v—that combination was a dangerous foe, unless controlled, and having the endorsement of the clergy of every denomination that took Christ as its example, in *business* matters as well as salvation, why should any one fear to venture on so plain and short a road—one that we could see the end of from the beginning. So all the people in common cause moved over the line.'

"'But I am anxious to know on what basis the Government settled with the owners?'

"'It was estimated that the average family of five, having their home free from rent and taxes, could live and improve their home to a limited extent on \$1,200 a year. It would take \$40,000 at three per cent. to product an interest of \$1,200 a year, so \$40,000 was taken as the basis of stock of every family, not that this was to be the final settlement with the family, but rather to obtain a fair and equitable basis for the settlement of the claims of original owners of property; this as you see made the matter a very simple item of business. In making the transfer, the mill, railroad, steamship, factory, etc., were not stopped at all, but all business ran right on, as it was really to the interest to all that it should, and every original owner, instead of owning \$40,000 in a single factory or mill or farm, had a \$40,000 interest in the combine. If any man owned more than \$40,000, he was paid the difference in cash, if the amount was small, otherwise in Government securities, running five, ten and twenty years, bearing three per cent. interest. If he felt individually that owning the bonds was a matter of indifference to him, as he now has his home assured to him, and if he cared to do his part in the Government employ, in any position from farmer to general superintendent, he was entitled to \$100 a month for current expenses for himself and family.'

"'But did not such a proceeding bankrupt the Government?'

"'Not at all, as now in a very just sense, the government really owns something to base a bond upon. Formerly, it really owned nothing that was remunerative. Now it owns in a sense all that is remunerative and this gives its financial standing a real basis for necessary indebtedness. In the sense that the combine or corporation receives its authority to do business direct from the government, so it is directly tributary to the government in a new and a very real sense. Please remember that this is a self-government and so is not a something separate and apart from us. We are the government.'

"'But if I understood you correctly, the combine and not the government, owned everything.'

"'True, and yet the combine is tributary to the government, and is held like every citizen, under government control. The political government is all powerful. It can draft every able-bodied man to fight in its defense, and it can use all property to pay its debts now, as it always has, since the signing of the Declaration of Independence.'

"'But issuing \$8,000 to each of your 70,000,000 inhabitants would create an immense indebtedness.'

"'You misunderstand again. The government, in one sense of the word, is no more indebted to these citizens than a father is indebted to his son just born. The \$8,000 is only a basis for a just dividend, and is considered a share in the combine, but in no sense an indebtedness. For example, five men organize a stock company, with a capital of twenty thousand dollars: is it supposed that that company is in debt to these men? or vice versa? It would be an innocent affair, if true, like a man indebted to himself. No, the political government is not in debt to these individuals, but really owns the individuals and all that they have. In our transactions from the beginning, we have followed the legal procedure of a combine formed by the best lawyers, who are now actuated by self-interest and so have walked on firm ground from first until now.'

"'But I do not see how the individual will take any delight in

being rich in bonds, as after a man has a home insured and sufficient sum invested in a solid combine, the dividends of which provide him with an abundance for current expenses, even when the time comes for him to receive the cash for the bonds, what can he do with the cash?"

"Well, in the first place, there can be no possible objection to his living partially or entirely off of his income, if he does not prefer to do his fair share of work, providing he does not become in any way an annoyance, a burden or a hindrance to the individual or the government in its business affairs. Even if he does not wish to live in his home, he can turn his home over to the government and go abroad if he wishes,—where his cash will be useful to him. Only it must be considered that he is not entitled to any dividends for the reason that dividends are based on service rendered in the employ of the combine. This is fair, because the profits of the combine are contingent upon its production. All profits go direct to the combine and the productions are contingent, of course, upon the actual work rendered; so when work stops, dividends stop, if the medical staff decides that the worker is able to work; but any one can live on his own cash, although he must not become a public charge or a public nuisance, or in any way a disturber of the peace. Most capitalists, however, take special delight in being one of our prosperous people, and in doing cheerfully what is to be done, rather than live in idleness; for it has been said that industry is as natural as sleep, especially when one has a right to select his special work and where they have capacity they become very useful as workmen, foremen, superintendents, managers of departments, etc.'

"This leads me to inquire about salaries for officers?"

They went into obscurity with wages; both of which seem now and are considered in the same light as buying a man's vote was formerly considered, or paying a man for doing right. If a man can do, that is reason enough for him to do, and if he does not do, he should be punished for not doing rather than be paid a premium for doing. Then again, every man has a home now, and his dividends pay his expenses and he doesn't need or want a salary.

"But how about lawyers, doctors, clergymen, teachers, professional men and women?"

"Lawyers are among the most respectable members of society; the practice of law, however, or settling disputes concerning property, all went with its father, the devil, as some would say, (meaning competition of course). Right business relations once established by the great combine on the now accepted basis, 'Do in business matters as you would be done by,' would set that kind of litigation as formerly based on intentional selfishness, out of the question; but the ever growing and rapidly progressing civilization of this twentieth century is continually bringing out new and varied features adapted to the legal profession and for them to decide upon. The basis of the combine self-interest precludes selfishness, so the lawyer has found it to his self-interest to take his heart with his head into all decisions of law.'

"But how does it affect the doctors?"

"I see you are determined to press me to the end of the list. Won't you come with me into the house?"

"Oh no, if you please, it's very pleasant here in the arbor, but the most grateful sensation about it all to me is that my brothers of the legal profession have found their hearts and a way to use them and yet not die young, as an English lawyer would say if so affected. I shall carry the idea back to England as a revelation."

"You asked me about our doctors: I am pleased to say that they were among the first, if not the very first, to see that the *business* interests of all were really the same; that my self-interest in industry must necessarily be my brother's self-interest and that the sum of our industrial interest must all be under one management and not mixed up with, but only tributary to political government, and they have set forth the ideas very clearly, that physical health is conducive to happiness, that healthy parents are of far more BUSINESS importance than healthy stock, and that it is far more practical in its application to get the human animal to eat and drink what is known to be healthful and to let alone such food and drink as is not healthy, than it ever was or could be to train the lower animal to do so. When once the *business* view of its effect on the combine was set up as a guide, it became apparent that the combine was affected not only instantly by the worker not being physically able to do his full share of the combine's work, but ultimately by bringing into the world children deficient in physical ability to work. This *business* view quite naturally settled the vexed liquor question, and in a way that was not only unexpected and positive but in a way that it will stay settled. Moral suasion, backed by the clergy and temperance societies, had went down before the greed for wealth, so fashionable had it become to be rich; but when all simply associated themselves into a *business* combine and pigeon-holed *business* properly, this temperance question went naturally to the Board of Health; and we all now, being parties in business interest with them, willingly defer to their decision, for they the same as we, have no other care but to keep people well and physically able to do their best in the interest of the combine. So an anti-drink society now is as superfluous as an anti-steel society. Kleptomaniacs and intemperate people are both to be pitied, and we take the best of care of them, but it's in our *business* planning and to our *business* interest to have just as few in our asylums as possible.'

"I am anxious to find out what has become of the clergymen; it looks like he couldn't have much left to do."

"Oh, yes sir, for example, if a vigilance committee in England should execute a few thieves it would not do away with the necessity for the commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal.' Removing the obstructions to sobriety, removing the cause for the crazy greed for personal wealth and pointing out the inconsistencies of church men in conforming to competitive business affairs, only really unloads so much from off the shoulders of the clergy, which they never should have been required to carry, and puts these things on to the different departments of the business combine, which it can and does carry as a feather's weight, when it once becomes to the self-interest of all to do so. The people have a chance now to be really good that they never could have had before these business monstrosities were removed, so rather than taking away the good offices of the clergy, it opens up a way to the heart and gives the individual time to think, and disposition to listen to more and yet more about the author of the practical business motto of the business combine, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Many of the clergy had overlooked the fact that competition was really fighting a brother man, hence neither Christian or apostolic, they finally saw that to be fair to those engaged improperly, a way must be provided with proper employment as a necessary inducement to quit the improper. (See Saloons., page —, chapter —). So strenuous, indeed, had the fight become among the laity that the clergy were compelled to look out for themselves financially by

joining in the fight, too, or starve, so that their own inconsistency became appalling to them, and when the industrial business combine offered a plain and righteous way out they accepted it and became its advocates, preaching it to the people, and as a result men can now enter into business life without danger of becoming contaminated or injured by it. The clergy, now encouraged by the better success of their work, gave themselves up to their work and in a sense they never could have done before, as a home and a \$40,000 interest in the combine is assured to every family, not because they work or don't work, but because the man is a man and the woman is a woman; and when the man is honestly doing his part and the woman honestly doing her part, their dividends are deserved, and what is true of the clergy is true of all. Rewards for merit, promotion for excellency, honorable mention for diligence, public gratitude for virtue, medals for bravery, etc., are a far more efficient stimulus to high endeavor than salary, fees, wages or personal wealth.'

"From your explanations, I need hardly ask about the teachers, for your added enlightenment would bring teachers more and more in demand."

"Yes, all our schools are industrial, kindergarten, musical, etc., all business schools up to, and including colleges, the combine through its board of education, having intimated to them from the very first, about how many should be prepared for the various occupations, that there be no longer years of preparation for a trade, or profession, and then honest effort snubbed and he or she implicitly told "No room for you." You take whatever you can catch or starve; aye, and the body did starve at once, yet the body eked out a miserable existence little better than starving, in fact a semi-starvation for life, all for the want of a little previous definite planning by the head of the larger family, society, and which it can do when and only when it is crystalized into an industrial business combine. Our theory is that real happiness is born a twin. England would do well to adopt the combine idea if for no other reason than to develop and sustain soul power. Yes, you are quite right; education is co-extensive with its usefulness, all making it plainly apparent that if this life is preparatory and but a vestibule of the immortal, how greatly desirable is immortality, and the grave is but a continued victory."'



What Effect will Industrial Equality Have Upon the Church?

This question may not interest or attract the attention of many yet there are some who have a deep affection for the Christian church, both Catholics and Protestants, who will be particularly interested in contemplating its effect on that organization. The combine, as has been observed, is purely a business association, but is of such magnitude and so far-reaching in its character as to touch not only the industry, but indirectly the salvation of the people. He that knew the character of all business relations, taught, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," thus plainly intimating that He does care, and so much that He gives implicit direction to us regarding our business conduct so that we may be able to get the very most out of life. This Great Teacher set this rule of conduct for the individual and society so high that it is co-extensive in its universality with salvation; for hear Him say, "If a man says, 'I love God,' and hateth his brother, he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen." The intimation is plain; love your brother first, love him now, love him anyhow, whether you do or do not comprehend God, yet love your brother. You can comprehend your brother, you can comprehend his desires, you can minister to his wants and needs, and when you find yourself so doing for the love you have for your brother, you are getting closer to where you can learn to your satisfaction whether the love you have for your brother is really final. The industrial combine seeks to bring all up to this point, not only because it's humane to do so, but because it's right between man and man in their economic business relations. The combine is not supposed to make saints out of sinners, but we observe when men are right and just in their business relations, the Church will have reason to rejoice. We smile at the incredulity of the pagan as he worships a wooden idol, or pity him for his ignorance; but if he knew how we toil after gold like the prize fighter, now up, now down, weary and worn, tired to exhaustion, all this for only what we get out of it in this short life and no eternity of happiness to be gained or hoped for by it, the pagan would call us fools or worse. "Oh, to see ourselves as others see us." The desire of the church, both Catholic and Protestant, in its business relations, is to help those in need; the underlying business principle of the combine is also to help those who need help, so they agree upon this essential point, while competition is opposed to both. Its heartlessness reminds me of a pathetic incident of my boyhood days,—a timid, but beautiful little puppy could not get up courage enough to chase the pigs out of the yard. A man said, "I will fix him," so he picked up my playmate and dropped the beautiful little animal into the hog pen. Of course the hogs jumped on to him much as competition.

jumps on to a timid boy of beautiful character just emerged from the home and who is just starting out in business life (business training in itself is all right, but our methods are abominable and irrational), the puppy had to fight, he could not get out of it, the hogs with their competitive, ferocious natures and appetites would have eaten him up and even if they had, it would have been coldly remarked, "Poor fellow, but after all that was about all he was good for," but on the other hand, if he had fought to a finish and won, though he came out a savage brute to forever fight, men would have stroked him approvingly and patted him on the back and called him by that loveable and eminently suitable name, "Trix," they would have given him all he wanted and then turned in a transcontinental railroad or two. "Consistency, thou art a jewel!" I have noticed that competitive business methods are irrational and at the same time un-Christian; and yet church people are induced by the force of present public opinion and stress of necessity, yea, even compelled to a great extent to adopt them, *knowing* that they are evil, yet trying to justify themselves by choosing the lesser, as they think, of two evils, or of using the existing competitive methods under protest. So the church is ill at ease, the rich sneeringly ignoring it on the one hand, the poor saying, "If that be the policy of the church, I want none of it." Others tolerate it as a bit of harmless diversion. Thus the church decreases in power, though it may increase in numbers. Now suppose our business aims were to benefit the poor without being unjust to the rich, as the Combine proposes, that it were our studied business, as it is, or should be, in the home, to help the weak or those who need the help, instead of robbing the timid cripple, or the poor to make the rich richer. Don't you see that church people could and would be consistent in their church life and then don't you see that the church would gather prestige instead of ignominy? The masses say now, "We admire Jesus the Christ," but they scoff at Christianity as being Christless, resulting in untold loss to the church, whether they be right or wrong in their merciless judgment. So you see the church is judged, not by its text-book, but by its adherents, so we ask you to help to make it possible for its members in their business life to reflect the face of the Christ by doing, really doing, as He anxiously directs. Like the ebb and flow of the tide, business usages, flowing now toward evil, society must turn it to flow exactly in the other direction. Combination is the direct antithesis of competition. Let me reiterate it, again and again, until it fastens itself on your minds and hearts, that combination is Christian, as well as founded on a correct business principle, and a correct business principle as well as Christian, so that both Christians and infidels should stand up in their manhood and womanhood and demand that the principle actuating combination spread its benign, sheltering wings over all the people of which the church is a part. You observe that I have not asked what effect the church may have on the combine: to answer this would not at all be within the scope of this book, but in view of their every interest, the people, the church and the Christ, will all welcome self-interest, the spirit of the combine, "Do as ye would be done by," not only because it is churchlike, but because it is the very best business policy. We all belong to God primarily, but only a fragment of us belong to the church, and even were it possible I would not draw a line between, for we, in a great and comprehensive sense, belong to each other. Our business must be made to be a blessing to all, and the every-day combine has in it the secret. Let us cease fighting it lest, haply, we be found to be fighting against ourselves and against God. I re-

cently listened to a preacher and business man belonging to one of our churches on this subject. Reference was made to Revelations—"Would that thou wast either cold or hot, being lukewarm. I will spew thee out of my mouth." The church is just there, and no mistake, but I pitied both the preacher in his earnestness and the church in its helplessness, for they must do—I emphasize do; they must do business or starve, and that means to them also to shut up the church doors, both seemingly unconscious of the fact that God never intended and does not now intend, that we shall DO business at all but rather do unto others, etc. (I have followed out this idea of doing business as a business at length in my letter to farmers.) A church man must be consistent, but he cannot possibly be and do business selfishly as we know it; we must have a different idea of business, a different business center- self-interest, from which to radiate. Church people are entitled to the gratitude of every American citizen for holding to the principles of Industrial Combine, but like the Jew in believing that no one could be a fit subject for heaven unless he first becomes a Jewish proselyte, so many of the church people have unwittingly thought that a man must have a change of heart, be converted if you please, and then he would necessarily be just in business because he was a Christian and that he was not expected to be without. While that may or may not be, to be just in business because we are Christians, if at all possible under competitive methods, is all right of course, but it is far different from being just in business that we may more readily become Christians. Christ laid down a business principle, "Do unto others," etc., which, like his salvation was as broad as the world, but separate and distinct. Salvation is not business, nor is business salvation; each may help the other, though neither can be a substitute for the other. The church (God help her) has tried to carry both because business would not carry its own load, and thus impeded her own progress by being loaded down by a burden as unnecessary and as unjust for the church to carry as it was great and crushing. If the infidel world could have been induced, 1900 years ago, to act with business common sense and walk "in His steps" in industrial matters, in that the real business interest of one man was the real business interest of all men, Jew or Gentile, Christian or infidel, and with "as ye would," it surely would have been the best business policy for all of them.

By a little planning the people can now organize a combine as assuredly as a railroad company can, with the modification that all the people be stockholders; then business will be done from a new center and self-interest will take the place of selfishness in business, and no banner but self-interest can attract the attention and respect and appreciation of all. The scriptures intimates that lying was always more or less common, but it remained for competition in business as we now have it, until lying has become the standard education, the real livelihood of the people, so unscrupulous the masses, and so universal the rule, that if a dealer does tell the truth he loses caste and commands little or no credence. Is it not about time that would-be Christian people should see that "Thy will be done on earth" really means *earth*, not Heaven, not Hell; that when he said earth He meant in our industrial relations. The plain proposition is to graft self-interest onto self-government. Existing combines show us how they do it among their stockholders; it is a practical way, a legal business way of establishing truth in matters of trade as well as even justice among all the people. The people are not so much to blame; they do not see the real church now; they only see church members, and they are swamped in competitive business. If we

showed like sense in this that we do in other things we could clear away the useless rubbish so that the beauty of the church could shine out to bless the world, and be seen and remembered by our business consistency. Self-government needs the self-interest as exemplified by industrial combines for the highest perfection of both; this resolves the brotherhood of man into a business fact, and will settle both the labor and the liquor problem, and I appeal to the Christian sentiment of the nation to come to the rescue.



Letter to Boys and Girls.

In my letter to the boys and girls of America I may occasionally include those of my own age, for there seems to be no invariable rule, like a rule in arithmetic, to tell us at just what age, if at all, people cease to be boys and girls. Then so many pounds avoirdupoise does not make a man or woman, neither does light weight prevent lesser folks from being men and women. I will try to indicate later on what does make men and women.

But few of you know me personally or can ever get acquainted with me except through this letter; so, if you please, let me give you a pen picture of myself—not that I am handsome, for, strange to say, most men resent being called handsome. “What a pretty old man,” would make me—well, not sick, but a little nauseated. Now if it seems strange to say that men do not care to be called handsome, it must not be considered strange that women do. Do you know why? Well, that’s a question you can think about. I may answer it, also, later on, but I am now in haste to show you my picture: I am sixty years old, about six feet tall, weigh about 155, lbs., light complexion, brown eyes, iron-grey hair and grey beard; but it was not always grey, do you know why? There, that will do for the picture.

A short lesson in history: I was raised on the farm, began teaching school at seventeen, taught sixteen years, except a year or so, was in the great war of the rebellion, graduated at Rush Medical College at 35, and practiced medicine for twenty years, and am now writing to you. So there is my autobiography. Now if you should meet me anywhere always speak, for you see we have been introduced, and will become better acquainted, and, I hope, firm friends. I am not quite able now, for some reason, to ride a bicycle, but as I walk along I love to toss stones and sticks out of the bicycle path, and thus add a little to the enjoyment of the boys and girls who do ride and when I see the difficulties in the way of boys and girls who want to build themselves up into good men and good women, I am going to make it my business to take away the obstructions in their path, and thus help them in their life work. This is my purpose in writing this book. I think my success as a school teacher was largely due to urging my pupils to do rather than *not* to do. The motto over my desk just now reads, “Onward,” so that I seldom had to say, “Don’t do this” or “Don’t do that,” having the mind and heart busy in doing right, is the best way to treat wrongdoing. The royal road to goodness is *work at it* so busily that you have no time for badness and idleness is not only a little bad of itself but it leads us into other badness. There, that will do for the first lecture.

I remember we used to think it was fun to find out why A was called A, and B was called B, and that a word was only the sign of an idea, and why; and that 7×9 was only just 9 added or taken 7 times. A little further on, in square root, it was funny to find that the square of the base and of the perpendicular of a right-angled tri-

angle would just equal the square of the hypotenuse every time; and the square of the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle was equal to the square of the other two sides; and why the earth was a little flattened at the poles, so that it lacks twenty-six miles of being as big around from north to south as it is from east to west. We were absorbed with history, and were inspired by the thought, "All that other folks can do, why, with patience, should not you?" etc. We were all alive and lively—we knew it—we realized it; but when we got to the question, what is life? we opened our mouths to answer so easy a question, but stammered, and finally gave it up. Even the teacher could not answer. Can you?

The world, and we as a part of it, seems to have been made for a design; hence there must have been a designer. So we did not grieve, but rejoiced rather that there were some things that we could not answer: it made us feel so secure to be carried on and on in the arms of One so much stronger than we, and we intuitively began to learn from Him the origin of wisdom, and finally trust Him in all things to whom we were so closely related.

To the question, "Do you like to do chores?" a few hands would go up, but not all; but this opened up to our wondering minds the great field of industry. We were told that industry was as natural as sleep. Why was it, then, that all did not put up their hands in answer to the question about chores? For we all do like to sleep—it is so agreeable. Don't you think that if the chores were as agreeable as sleep, we would all like to do them? Now, if for any cause the chores have become disagreeable to a stout, healthy boy or girl, we know there must be a cause for it, so we must try to find out whatever it is and remove that cause, and then the boys and girls who kept their hands in their laps will put them up. For it is the object of this letter to show clearly that if industry is not agreeable, it can be made agreeable, as it is absolutely necessary, and that a combine of all industry takes away all its disagreeable features. If I should ask the boys and girls why they do not like to do the chores as a rule I would get the answer, "Because some other boy or girl, or some one else, would not do his share," for such is our intuitive sense of justice. I hasten to observe that we are very largely influenced by our education, and education is a reflection of our environment, so we must then rectify our environment. This opens up another lesson in history. Yes, we live in a republic, that is a government that gives boys and girls the best chance of any form of government, because the people themselves govern. Most other governments are ruled by a king; the one is just the reverse of the other, you see. Now, having the form of government best adapted to us, we are in a position to do as we would be done by among ourselves, aren't we? So if our environments are not what they ought to be we are the fellows that want to know it and we'll make 'em right; we should not only know that fact, but also know how to remedy them—then we, as boys and girls with a purpose co-extensive with the emergency, pull off our wraps and set back our hats, just ready for and equal to that emergency.

We read that our fathers met together one day and signed a document called now the Declaration of Independence, and if the British could have caught them they would have hanged every one of them for it. That document, like the Bible, we think a good deal of, but also, like the Bible, we don't read it very often, and hardly know what it says—much less study out what it means. It says in one place "All men were created equal"—that "they are endowed with certain inalienable rights," that "among these are life, liberty

and the pursuit of happiness," that "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," that's you and I, yes. Now, there are three things referred to—the first is life; we have that, yes: the second is liberty; and we have that in a larger measure than any government under the sun (but more about that in another place): the third is, the pursuit of happiness. Well, if the pursuit of happiness is one of our inalienable rights, we will give it a lively chase, and catch too. So here goes. It says up there in the Declaration that all men were created equal. We will have to see about that. "Man," as one has innocently said, "embraces the women," yes, and means everybody of course; so I ask, "Jimmy, is one girl equal to another?" "We-l-l, hardly." We know he thinks of a special one of them, and that she is equal to the whole lot, so I turn to Mary for a more fluent answer to the same question about the boys. She answers, "Why, no, of course not"—that settles it, and so our forefathers were mistaken about equality, but yet, as Jefferson wrote that Declaration, it must have been right, but maybe I am on the wrong track. I say that boys must be so fed and so clothed and cramped or stretched as need be, to make them all of equal length, like logs, just five feet and a half long at twenty-one; and that every girl shall be treated just the same way until she can be made to admit that she is twenty-one and made just the same length as the boys. "Oh," Henry says, "I don't like tall girls, but only about like—" and he would be turned out of school before he would say who "about like" was. The tallest and most accomplished girl in the school breaks the silence by deliberately saying, "Don't you think, teacher, that five and a half feet is a little too tall for a man?" "Oh, I don't," eagerly speaks out the dumcy-daisy of the class,—“I think tall boys are just—” “Well, go on, Daisy,” but she remembers, and is mum. Well, I recollect that my school is an average one, composed of just one hundred boys and one hundred and five girls. (I don't know why God made five more girls out of every hundred than he did boys, but some statistics say that He has, and that settles it) and I put the question, hoping to get five majority,—“All of you that think that five and a half feet linear measurement for boys is just about right, please stand on your feet.” I look around and see all the short boys and long girls standing together. I put the other side—“All you that think that five and a half feet linear measurement for girls is just the right length, please stand on your feet.” My long girls sit down, and up jump the short girls, and my short boys sit down and the long boys unwind themselves, and I see my short girls and long boys standing together; so I conclude that Jefferson could not have meant equal length linear measure, and I try 160 lbs. avoirdupoise, and get the same peculiar vote. The big boys and the little girls stand together, and the little boys and the big girls stand together, so equality in the Declaration does not mean equal weight, but my class, and you, the reader, have learned this fact, that “equal” is really in the Declaration of Independence, and that it would not be there if it did not *mean something*, and we will now attach it to industrial that I spoke of yesterday when talking about the chores, so we will hitch them up and see how they will work together; get in, everybody, and see if Industrial-Equality won't pull you all. There, “I told you so,” but I want to tell you a lot more about this team. You have heard of Political-equality? Yes? Well, they never pulled all the people just like this team does, they couldn't do it; bless you, they are only little fellows. Political is a good riding horse, fat and sleek, but, dear me, the people can't all ride horsback, and that's

about all he's good for now, and there was poor Equality people did not seem to ever need him—I pitied him, for he never had a chance to show what he was worth, a splendid frame, yes, but why? Yes, sir, it is a fact; you could count his ribs across the street until we began to feed him up to work with Industrial, and now look at him, a perfect match for Industrial; and don't they pull together though. Why, I don't wonder that the people have turned Political out to pasture; he is only a warhorse, anyhow; we hardly ever use him any more; we will keep him, of course, but *everybody* rides behind Industry and Equality—they'd rather do it. Why, the whole people have dropped onto the *combination*, don't you see, and are wondering why we didn't combine our own interests long ago, but I told them that civilization had not become sufficiently civilized until now. But I must not run away from the younger members of my class, the gentlemen and ladies of thirteen—about three or four million of them in the United States. It's funny, but did you ever notice how differently boys grow old from what girls do? At thirteen they are about the same age, but never after. A girl gets older much faster than a boy up to sixteen, at sixteen a girl is just old, but a boy at sixteen is just awkward, and he realizes it. A girl gets old rather regretfully now, but a boy, well a boy, if he could not get older, why, he would rather have been good and died young. He rushes out of his teens like a meteor or cyclone, and when he gets to be twenty-one he flaps his wings, metaphorically speaking, and looks around as if to say, "I told you so!" Why, everybody knows when a boy is twenty-one, but how few—how very few—ever know when a girl is twenty-one! And now, when women's votes are needed, and it seems fitting and proper for them to vote, in industrial matters, at least, if it never was before, the saddest thing about it is that a girl to vote must plead guilty to being twenty-one years old.

Whatever equality may mean, it cannot mean that a boy is equal to a girl, or that a girl is equal to a boy, but listen, both should have equal privileges to develop to the highest possibilities of their different and respective spheres: hence both and all of both are entitled to equal material spheres; and, mark you well, that truth follows as a matter of course, that one girl under the Stars and Stripes is entitled to material support equal to that of any other girl, because she is, or will be, a woman, and not because she is or her parents are or hope to be wealthy; and, I repeat it, that it may touch the very soul of every American citizen, that one boy under the Stars and Stripes is equal to material support equal to that of any other boy, and because he is, or will be, a man, a soldier, if you please, and not because he is or his parents are or hope to be wealthy. It's not money, but blood that tells.

Three thirteen-year-old girls of equal size in their glee agreed to run a race in the arena and set the time; a girl's foot-race called out everybody, and the amphitheatre was crowded. The young society belle led into the forum, followed by that little maid-of-all-work and all-play, but Gertrude, the other dear child, could not be induced to step to the front, conscious of the fact that if some of the audience did not hiss at her clothing, they would make unkind remarks to each other concerning it so crushing to her sense of propriety, and then she remembered, "I never ran a foot-race. I hardly felt like running after being at work fourteen or fifteen hours. Papa works and Mamma works, and we children all work from the time we were—well, ever since I can remember." "Why, you must be rich, as all of you earn wages." Y-e-s, pretty rich, we live in a nice house behind the factory; we get it cheap, and then Mamma can take in wash-

ing there to pay the rent, and Papa and my big brother get big wages, and if they can get work all the time and if there is no strike on can pay the butcher and the grocer. Yes, we trade at the first class corner grocery; Papa won't let Ned go after things 'cause Ned drinks a little, you know, and I and my two little sisters earn money enough to buy all our clothing—wish I could earn lots more and get some company clothes. I wouldn't mind running this race, but this is the best suit I have got, and if they don't want to see me at church I guess they won't here," but she was dragged into the arena. While this little talk was going on a kind lady who knew her was talking to Belle.

"My dear little miss, you must take off that hat, loosen that belt a little, and change those high-heeled boots for ordinary shoes, here is a pair."

"Not much; this hat is of the latest style and cost a hundred dollars. Mamma says it isn't nice for girls to run anyhow, and if it wasn't for my hat I wouldn't run. I wear a very low-cut waist, you see, and I can take off my jacket, if you want me to, but those common shoes—humph, I never wore a pair, and so I never ran a race, either, but I have danced all night long many times, and I slept until noon today, so I think I can beat Gertie anyhow."

"But how about May?"

"Oh, May—can't anybody beat May! She can't dance a mite, but run!—why, I wish I could run like May, up hill and down. No, no, the race is between Gertie and I, for Gertie, she is so sensitive, I don't know why—everybody knows she is poor; I should think she wouldn't mind it by this time. May is poor, too—oh, not so very poor, or so very rich—and she is—well May is ready for anything, and everything is fun for May, say I. Well, Ma says she is a tom-boy, and ain't proper. Hello! May, are you ready?"

"Tom says I am always ready for a race. By the time he can count one, two, three, I have my bonnet off and away we go, around the block—it makes the people laugh sometimes to see us run, or sometimes Tom says, 'I can beat you across the meadow to where the cows are.' I say, 'No, you can't,' and away we go. I like to run Tom up hill; I can beat him uphill nearly every time. I tell him it's because mamma makes the waist of his trousers too tight."

"Do you work any, May?"

"No—yes—well, no; I don't call it work. I milk the five cows, while Tom takes care of the horses, and I plow sometimes all day, when Tom has something else to do. Papa is dead, you know."

"Well, May, are you going to win?"

"Well, if I don't I ought to! There is Belle, the best-hearted girl that ever lived! Oh, I do like her mamma and papa ever so much, too, but they wouldn't have her dressed as my mamma dressed me, for the world; and poor Gertie she is so sensitive. Belle wonders why, but I don't wonder a bit when I remember how she has to live now, and so discouraged-like about the future, too, and says, 'When will it ever be any better, May?' and then we both cry, and, well, I don't know what to say but I say, 'Let's run a race with Carle.' She brightens up a little, but says, 'No, its time for me to go to work;' I feel as though I would like to take both the girls one by each of my hands and pull them around that ring, and then we would all come out together, don't you see, and be so happy."

But the people are all in their seats, and calling, "Time!"

The three girls, with such unequal chances all standing in a row, a man says, "One! Two! Three!" and away they go! May soon takes the lead reluctantly, as if she hated to leave them behind, but remembers it is her business now to run, and her jaunty little cap

slips to the back of her head, her body covered all over with modest clothing, but perfectly free from its restraint; her feet, shod with neat but ordinary shoes, carry her forward like the wind. The people shout, "See May run! just see her run!" Belle and Gertie intent only on beating each other (mind you, for there is a whole lot more here than a foot-race) are lost to view and neglected by the crowd. May makes the round. One has discovered that Belle and Gertie are still running (all have to run), but are only half-way around, and sets up the shout, "Catch them, May! catch them!" and everybody shouts, "Catch them, May! catch them!" With but a moment's hesitation, and plenty of wind, May starts on her second round, almost with her former speed, and the crowd sets up the shout, "Just see her run!" and amid deafening cheers she overtakes them and takes each by the hand, and pulls them along, too, and gently pushes them in front of her over the goal, and as if by magic the hearts of the people melted by this act of magnanimity and tears of repentance flowed from the eyes of rich and poor alike, and shaking hands in token of a mutual pledge that they would never put another little impediment in the way of industrial equality, thus forever bestowing all needed material support to the poor, and taking the unbearable burden of private wealth, as entirely useless as the rich girl's mammoth hundred-dollar hat in a foot race, or as natural as the poor girl's sensitiveness, because of her poverty in not being able to get one as costly. Wasn't May's jaunty cap sweet? Yes, and the heart that directed the head that wore it. She is the type of girls the Combine age will produce and would have made out of the other two.

Do not my older readers see clearly that incorporation has in it the willing ability to help forward both the rich and the poor alike. There were a few boys and girls that were not at the race, so I continue, but on a little different line, about equality. I remember that some boys farther up in their teens think about getting married, and as I never heard of a boy marrying another boy I conclude it is not worth while to argue that a boy is equal to a girl. Then I think of the long tedious and seemingly exasperating courtships. No objections anywhere, but yet something lacking, and I hasten to the rescue with this bright idea that equality means that a woman should have the equal right to "pop the question." I take it that this right is just what the woman wants, the privilege to do and put it to a vote. But imagine my surprise—my hundred boys vote for it to a man, but my hundred and five girls vote against it to a woman. I whisper to my old wife, "That's not it"; she whispers back, "I told you so." I try again and with some show of eloquence say, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal"—I borrowed that from Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence but if I can pass it off as original, why not? Well, I might do so now, but when Industrial Equality gently hovers its protecting wings over all the children alike, until they become mature men and women physically, I shall not be able to take advantage of their ignorance then as now, about some of the most commonplace items of history, physics, logic, etc. The schools will know no rich to spoil or poor to despise. For what's the use for the rich now to insist on or give their children of fortune, so-called, an education, which the children do not expect to ever need, or their parents expect them to ever use; or, on the other hand, for the poor to sacrifice every remaining comfort of the home, such as it is, either rented or taxed, to educate their boy or girl, and in the end to turn them into life at business age, an educated pauper and without a job? Let the American common sense

and common justice say, "Shame on *such* equality!" Let no man think he has silenced me by saying, "Our people are the best educated people of any in the world." True, sir, to the letter, but for your personal shame, don't mention it again, until you, sir, change the palm of your hand upward to both the surfeited rich and the disheartened poor children of the nation whom you have only pretended to love, be you Jew or Gentile, rich or poor. Kindly the time has come now, if never before, when your industrial interest is my industrial interest, and vice versa, and Progress, call it Christian or infidel, as you prefer, is up to and now opening out and into a combine of all productive property, operated for the purely mutual benefit of all the people. Demand it! Accept it Enjoy it!

Talk about a standing army as a sure guarantee of peace. Let it be so. Then every man is born and bred a soldier, and every woman, if need be. I have shown elsewhere that with our long-range guns, etc., women have eyes and nerves, and can be as expert with a needle gun as with her cambric needle. What nation will then dare invade our shores? In such union there is power; there is safety, and national safety, both from without and from within. Industrial equality will amalgamate the hearts and engage and entertain the minds and give our people a healthful military bearing in their work for material support, so that the nation in a day can change its army of willing workers for an army of willing soldiers, already well drilled.

Another view: Paupers now too poor to care whether they have any government at all, on the one hand, and on the other, the rich too high and lifted up to obey the law, but at the same time fearing the pauper, as he well may, any other nations looking on, seeing a rich but competitive or quarreling people, strikes and lockouts everywhere, not only fighting one another in business matters, but also in bitter class hatred, some of which might see in war nothing but an opportunity for sweet revenge or spoils, on account of injuries done and suffered—then almost any nation could defeat us, and our very bulk would the more certainly work our sure destruction. One who knows has said, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." Why, sir, boys and girls hardly know that they have a government now, it is so far away and unreal to them; it does not seem to touch them anywhere; liberty is a kind of a ghost. Patriotism is a kind of phantom, *Political* Equality an unmeaning phrase. Why, sir, nobody, foreign or domestic, is disputing our *political* liberty; then why brag about it so much? Why not take it for granted, and all right, and as we are bigger than any nation on earth, that practically settles the matter of *political* equality, we can't get any more of it can we? and so what are we doing now anyway? Nothing. Wake up and listen. Industrial Equality, the same people, but acting in their co-operate capacity, can lift up the poor into homes and bring government very close to every boy and girl, a government that is so real as to stand close behind a combine that gives every father and able-bodied adult brother and sister honest employment, and guarantees dividends with which to supply the necessities and luxuries of life; a government that gives every family a home—not only a homestead as now, but a real home which touches them on every side and makes them feel warm and comfortable. Government then will not be a far-off and mysterious will-o'-the-wisp, but as real as the mother that rocked them to sleep in babyhood, and all will intuitively work for it,—yes, fight for it if need be, as you would do or would have done for her.

Boys and girls in their teens are both loving and lovable. Character building carried on in this rational line, as begun in the

home may and should continue on and up and into and through business life to mature old age, and when the nation makes an honest effort to afford the young adult men and women the like chances of their father's and mother's family for character building; yes, and more, sets the example to the family, then the nation, like the family will become dear to the people. Further, if a young couple knew for a certainty, as they will know as a result of Industrial Equality, that when they arrive at proper pairing age, they will have a home of their very own assigned them by the combine as their inherent right, as a man and a woman, as well as an economic measure on the part of the combine (as I have shown elsewhere), then we may expect virtue and character in the young man as in the young woman he expects to marry. Let me refer to a few existing difficulties that will cease when the barriers of private wealth are "burned away."

Case No. 1. A young man loves a young woman, and she loves him. She is rich, he is poor. Each is worthy of the other, and they both know it. She may sincerely wish she was not rich, and did not belong to her set, but by the twitting of her set, and the objections of her parents, she says a reluctant "No," and not only one light goes out, but two: The one to aimless living, perhaps, the other further along to enter a partnership with a man of her set, both having a divorce in view—economics robbed of the good offices and aid of a faithful man and wife, to say nothing of the morals involved.

Case No 2. A wealthy young man, boasting in the proper spirit of his young manhood, that he will marry whom he pleases, with only her consent. He sees a young lady that he thinks is perfect, but his set get to hear of it. They say, "It will never do, she hasn't got a dollar in the world, while he—yes, and he can marry rich and have a fortune," and so they join to ridicule his choice or persuade or laugh him out of his only love, and he soon enters into a partnership with an heiress, and she, to cover the apparant shame of becoming an old maid, marries too, becomes an obscure household drudge, because her only love is not in her home.

Case No. 3. Is entitled to our greatest respect. A young man or young woman, with stoic determination, after having thought out the family life in its fight for bread and a home little more than a farce under existing circumstances, owing to inequalities of property, resolves to live virtuous and single. Such single men are heroes and such single women are heroines, for it is as natural for young men and women to pair off at marriageable age as it is for birds, and this accursed private wealth or wealth in private hands to be used, or misused rather, for private ends, sets up a prohibitory barrier, and we merciless cowards that we are, laugh about it, and call it the vagaries of love.

Case No. 4. Industrial Equality will give definiteness to education. Some boys and girls have in mind what they would like to be or do as a life pursuit. As I have said, industry is as natural as sleep until we are educated out of that idea of it. Every rich child intuitively wants to do something industrial, but forces have conspired together to frustrate or foil his or her industrial ambition, at a very early age, sometimes instead of, as it should be to encourage the child's aspirations and keep it in line, lending it every assistance possible, thus keeping it in love with some definite work. It rather destroys, and by a smattering of this, that and the other is not proficient in anything. Well, the schools are not to blame. I am not blaming them, for they, practically say, "Suppose we do specialize, there is no telling that the boy or girl can use the specialty, so as all boys and girls must take just what they can get

to do, when they go out of school, it is better to give them a smattering of many things." That's true, yet it is a disgraceful reflection upon competitive business methods that we pay our hard-earned money and give our children's time through school life, and then kick them out to do anything they can catch. But little better than this do the rich do for their children; they, by their wealth and pride, decide to make a preacher, or lawyer, or doctor, out of a born mechanic, and spoil both. Many born professional men or artisans first see the light in hovels, and must by the inequality of wealth spend a life following the plow or carrying the hod. Why are we so wilfully cruel to our own children and all children? Our children as a rule go out into life to drift aimlessly through it all, because of lack of a little management, but that is impossible in and under competitive business methods, and you that read these lines know it, and possible only in our industrial combine. As we have but one life to live, is it not a pity to squander it thus.

Case No. 5. Industrial Equality presupposes that young men and young women can do the world's work, when that work is done methodically and co-operatively, and that without loss from competition or business fighting, or when one thing is planned out for the purpose of supplementing or fitting into the other, this planning will enlist the best thought of all and especially the best thinkers, and this life of satisfying thought will be rapture when compared with the present day practice of law, of medicine, teaching, mechanics, farming, horticulture, agriculture, etc., not one of which can its votaries make satisfactory and practical because of remorseless competition. I say presupposes that young men and women can do the world's work without the help of the aged, or infirm, or children under 21, though young men and women yet in their teens will do preparatory work, probably in most cases equal to or in excess of their own support, and the public school generally will be definitely preparatory and self-supporting in many cases, probably industrial and co-operative schools.

Boys and girls, you are not expected to vote until you are 21, but please do not think for one little moment that any one of you that reads or hears these lines, no matter how young you are, cannot help to hasten industrial equality. You may not be able to understand it all the way through, but you can understand that it is doing as you would be done by in all industrial business relations in life. This is the best way to do for you and of course it is best for the one that you do a kind act to or for. We don't do it now, and our bad and silly business method of competition we want to swap off for co-operation, and establish a right business principle, which is combination of all business interests.

You see, being all thus interested together, we cannot do any industry or business an inquiry, for if we do, we injure ourselves, and having this sound business principle as a real basis or starting-point, we can work out a home for you, yes for you, the very identical little boy or girl that is listening so intently to these lines—yes, a home for you, and that as being the very best piece of business this nation ever did for itself, so that your papa and mamma, and big brother or sister may have a chance to take care of you at the very least possible expense to them, as well as to the higher business advantage of all. So, many good and beautiful things radiate out from the home that you and your papa and mamma will think of and talk about, but the combine, as we will now call it for short, does not only ask the government to set you off a home of your very own, as its first and most paying piece of business in the interest of all, but it

is co-operation personified in all the different departments of work, in the support of that home, so that all the workers will work *for* instead of *against* each other as so many workers do now, and you will have so much better methods of study arranged for you, as agricultural schools, sewing schools, in fact nearly all schools will either be practically industrial schools or schools leading up to industrial or technical schools. This class of schools does a great deal of good now, but so frequently when a boy or girl has learned all that they can teach, and is ready to go out into the practical application of what he or she has spent these precious years of young life in learning, he or she finds that there is no place, actually no place, to apply the knowledge gained—for there has been no concert of action on the part of industry or business to reach down and kindly connect itself with the school, nor has business made any suggestions to the schools as to what and how they should teach, and prepare, so that study and an education would not be thrown away, but rather leading on, up to be a paying investment to you and to the society. This is, in other words, establishing a new center from which business would radiate, do good to others and then risk the result; and not, as we have been trying to do all along through these many weary years, to make people good and bright as we would a stove by blacking it on the outside, but rather by building a fire in it, and letting it get bright with its own fervent heat. It may shine red instead of black, but it will not be shining by reflected light, but by its own light, and then it won't be a black dummy as now, but it will shine from heat of its own. It will not only be ornamental but useful. We have been doing business competitively, most of us, because we have had to do so or starve. What consummate folly! Let us quit fighting, only continue the "work," as was decreed in the Garden of Eden, and labor will feed, clothe and educate us, as surely as God said "Let there be light."

We have been building a great bonfire, as it were, at the entrance of a cave scooped out on the mountain side, like a great amphitheatre, and simply for the purpose of lighting up the cave: now change the purpose of the fire to cooking food and keeping you warm. Never mind about the light (the political or self-government). As you look around you for the best place to build the fire for this new purpose, you will find it in the midst of the cave, and, wonderful! the cave is lighted up by the same fire, and far more perfectly than from the outside bonfire (competition), which you don't need at all now; so pile on the fuel, and live by its prepared food and warmth, and also in the brightness of its light.

We are here in life, as we all must admit for the one purpose, and that *human happiness*. This is the real *problem* of human life; we have given it the lively chase and have caught it. The people's industrial combine, let us get together and stand together, both Jew and Gentile, for this new business center, and our business will hold or sustain us, instead of fighting, as now, to hold or sustain ourselves.

I must not continue my letter until you get sleepy, but I do want to refer to a real case in point. A young woman came into a great mill at lunch time, to tell the thousand girls employed, about the Young Woman's Christian Association, and very properly began by asking, "What shall I say to you girls?"

One of them said "Whatever you do, don't you tell us to be good." Another said: "Naw, don't give us a tract." Another said: "And don't you give us Bible verses." Another reprovingly said to the girls: "Stop, don't you know how to treat company? Say, please, ma'am, tell us 'bout girls who can go to school." Another said:

"An' them that can stay at home." And as the young woman spoke to them about school life, one spoke out: "You make all that up 'bout girls that can go to school." Another said, "And don't have to think a single thing 'bout the money."

Do you wonder that these millions of girls and boys tell us to our faces of our inconsistency in lauding our free school system, and yet make it impossible for them to attend school! Why, sir, we fight them; they fight back—we fight everybody and everybody fights us, and we call it business, competitive business. I would not minimize the tender-hearted efforts of the Y. W. C. A. to help, but I would rather give them a chance. These young women are trying to carry a load that ought to make men blush to see,—aye, young men, combine, and thus gallantly relieve them without adding a featherweight,—yea, rather and at the same time even decimate your own lead, too, and within the scope of the surplus energy of those whose privilege it will be to do the world's work, now that "work" has become practically a social office.

One word more to the young women in their teens, and older. History tells us of a time when the military dominated the world. Men were then the soldiers. The barbarous cry of these cruel men was, "To the victor belongs the spoil." The very same idea runs through competitive business today, listen, don't you hear it? only more genteel, but none the less cruel and harsh to the finer sensibilities of our own people. I speak of this, here to impress the fact upon your minds and hearts that as each and every one of you expects to live with some one of these young men, it behooves you to prevent the young men from acquiring that overbearing, barbarous brutal habit, crushing every tender sentiment and meek appeal of his victims of business, for, rest assured, men cruel to other men will be cruel to you. A time has now come in the progress of Christian civilization that love power is available; use it practically, and I beg of you, let this power shine out so practically that it may be followed and thus guarantee continued love and sweetness in your home life as the home maker.

Accepting the story of adventure of the children of Israel as sacred history, let us learn a lesson from their failure and success. We came as near to the industrial promised land, at the time of our American independence, as they did on their first approach via Kadish Barnea, but they, as we, were frightened back by giants. They estimated a *Canaanite* as just equal to an *Israelite*, and we estimated an American *freeman*, as we had become, just equal to an European *subject*, as we had been. Mark the difference as we see it now *we* rule *they* obey. Napoleon asked one of his marshals how many soldiers? He was promptly answered so many. "Wrong, sir, put me down ten thousand." Aye, Napoleon, the commander, was worth ten thousand privates to the French army on the battlefield. So let your real worth get hold of *you* as an American *citizen*. Stand up straight for your every right, industrial as well as political, and if the old monarchical version of industrial liberty was to get all, if you could, and turn all your brothers and sisters out to starve, then let us change that nefarious version to that implied by a *republic*, not only free but equal, not only politically but industrially. Why should it be found necessary to say, after our country is a hundred and twenty-five years old, that this nation should be independent of any nation on earth, in its currency, gold silver, one both, or neither? Why? Because we have been compromising with the Canaanites of Europe and worshipping their idols, their gods, their monarchical way of business. The Israelites weakened; so did we, and they wandered around aimlessly for forty years on account of

it, and finally rounded up to make another effort to get into their rightful possessions; but this time a river between, some more gritty spies were sent out, came back and reported that giants still possessed the land; but mark a difference in two important particulars—one is, the Israelites were courageous this time, and it was the Canaanites who had an attack of heart failure. But how could the Israelites get at them—a river, a great big river. Its no use to talk, some say, we can't cross it (we can't combine, why we have no money, nothing to combine). Well, Joshua said there is nothing like trying. I think he reminded them in some way that they were *Israelites*, and by this forty years of education, I think they began to feel in their hearts what being an Israelite in that day really meant. (Do you take in all that American citizen now means, or do you go tagging along like a labor union begging for wages and a job)? Audacious Joshua, did you say? Well, they went right on. What? Yes, the river divided, the Canaanites found their holes and the Israelites had possession. See?

So much for being sure you're right and going ahead—"Go thou and do likewise." Israel had rights; so have Americans. Israel must needs make an honest effort. Israel's men, women and children marched together. America's men, women and children must needs move together. Israel gained homes. America will gain homes. Israel thus perpetuated the family. America must and will thus be enabled to perpetuate the family. Observe that to the extent that Israel paid attention to the counsel of the Canaanites. They failed. What consummate folly then for Americans, who do and of a right ought to lead the whole wide world, to hesitate and ask the Canaanites of Europe about the propriety of changing the old monarchical system of industry, so as to have an industrial system to fit our own Republic.

Very great care may well be taken in Europe to educate princes and princesses, for they are to govern. They are to be trusted, thoroughly trusted. Hear me. We in America are the princes and princesses; we are to govern, we are to be as thoroughly trusted, we, like the royal blood, are placed on honor. Is it not pertinent, then, that if we are the royal blood of America and placed on honor, that we establish here and now a system that will give us a royal training, a royal recognition, a royal bearing, thoroughly educated and absolutely trusted? While we are dealing in comparisons, let us carry it still farther; all the children of the nobility of Europe are not wise—did you hear me?—neither are all the children of America; then the greater care is needful to the unwise of both, so I plead the cause of my young friends of America, who most need a friend and insist that they, as well as the wise ones, must have the same careful training as the ruling families of Europe, because they have like ruling responsibility placed upon them. It is true always that the balance of sympathy must go with the governing power (stick a pin here), else they must lose control; so here the people, being the governing power, must have the sympathy and consideration due them as the governing power, else our Republic must lose control (read that sentence again), so it is not a matter of indifference whether we treat our electors equally or not, but a far-reaching and profound matter of necessity vital to the genius of our form of government, we must have an industrial system adapted to a Republic. Then a republic will prove to be the strongest form of government possible to the human race.

Permit me to remind you compassionately that many of those who are causing society the most trouble now, be they rich or poor, who are the most ungovernable, were badly started. They were not

born or reared in the sweetness of a home of just a plenty, so if we are now called upon to really suffer, we should suffer meekly until we have put forth an honest and intelligent effort to give them a fair chance now. Even an infidel longs for a time when the companionship of men and women, uncontaminated by the meanness of competitive business or irritated by rasping anxiety and goneness of soul, making life a burden and death, a vexatious uncertainty. So, why, in any view of the case, is it not better for all to try to make this world as good as we can.

My young friends, I want to show you two companion pictures before you go. I raise the throw; you first see the boy, of course, then a dog, a lion, a horse, a bear, a hog, a mule, etc. Your love prevents you from realizing that the boy is a brute (he may be much more or yet little more than a brute). A look of supreme satisfaction is in his face as if to say this is good enough for me; I am going to camp right here, with my associates, and we leave him just stooping to pick up a sword on which we read two words: Selfishness, Competition: below the picture, the name, "Selfish instinct as a principle; Competition as a method of action." Now take a look at the companion picture; we instinctively see the human first, but an old, weary, tottering man, with the same sword and drawn so high that it seems to be coming down on his own neck, and we feel as though we must spring to his rescue. As we take in more calmly the situation, we see that the food is all behind him. The other brutes are at bay in front of him, but looking, oh, so wistfully at the food they dare not touch. The faithful dog sitting on his haunches no longer looks with kindling eye into those of his master's, but as he is dying of hunger, looks beyond at the food. The willing horse, no longer able for service, is looking at the food; the hog, content with anything, can get nothing; even the lion, with his head between his paws, is subdued by the greater fierceness of the old man. We know that the whole scene is a representation—aye, a reflection, on the competitive human animal, and intimating our treatment of each other, and as we turn away in disgust, we read below the "Finale of Selfishness as a principle of business; Competition as a method of business." I see you are determined to go so I hasten to tell you that the other pair are entrancing and so hope to prevail on you to stay a moment longer. I pull aside the throw. The boy now has his sword in hand, but his eye is not on the sword, but on a distant light, and he seems about to start to it. His dumb associates are still about him in inquisitive confusion. Now your eye catches the title below, and you read, "Self-interest as a principle of business" and "Combination as a method of business." Mark the difference in the name. It is all a pleasant picture, but the title is most startling, and we cling to it with a real fascination, unmindful that it has a companion which is yet more attractive. As we turn to it we mark that the boy has now left the brutes, is no longer one of them, and evidently is bound by elastic step for the light. Love lights up his ever handsome face, and he is life personified; but still, as if by force of habit, he carries his drawn sword unwittingly, and with its inscription in plain view—Selfishness—Competition. Halt, a friendly sentinel seems to say, as he reaches out for the sword as if to intimate, you will not need either the weapon or its motto after you step over this line, this beat. We have been too absorbed with the boy to notice that he has exchanged associates, a man, this sentinel, who looks every inch a soldier; a satisfied smile lights up his genial countenance as he welcomes the boy. Across the green is a rainbow-like arch; on its periphery we spell out the name of apparently a new inheritance, a

new country—"Christianized Civilization." Scintillating in the center, beautiful and bright, a single word, "Trust." We pause; it means everything to us. The sun of industrial system, trust! With rapture we study this picture and as it grows on us, a train of cars here, and a steamship there, farms and factories and waterfalls and villages, with church steeples and cottages everywhere. The scene does not need to be labeled, but we instinctively say, "American homes for all," You feast until I am compelled to bid you a significant good-night, and you say, "Just one more look," and you get a thought that burns into your very soul, as you read below the cause of it all, "See what Self-interest, as a principle of business, and Combination, as a method of business, hath wrought."



What Effect will Industrial Equality Have Upon Parties?

To say that it will not affect them at all would be incorrect, because parties, as we know them, are so sensitive in their nature as to be affected by very small things—as by petty jealousies, envy, or the color of the of skin, nationality, religion, etc., but the Industrial Combine is purely an industrial business matter, and as it concerns all the people cannot possibly be a part or party measure, yet this very fact may affect existing parties. Do not confuse politics and parties; parties come and go; politics remain; a party man may only be a trickster or a schemer, but a statesman is a man who honestly tries to manage proper political affairs for the good of the governed, so as to enable the people, all of the people, citizens, not alone a part or party or them to get the maximum of political happiness, not necessarily a producer, but the State should work hand in glove with the producer. Parties exist frequently to put their leaders in office, against which statesmen sometimes have no show. If they were honorary, if there was no money in it, then men would not need to seek office, but for the political good that they could give the people, rather than for a living or what money they could make out of it. Men can do good without being paid for it. A party is simply a highway to an office and an office is so much money. The Combine will supply all our physical wants from another source, and insures us and ours a subsistence. It will be its pure business then to inquire into tariff (as it should be, as Politics has little to do with it; it is rather industrial), and decide it entirely by its effect upon the Combine—the people as a whole, in their co-operative capacity—rather than as now, upon some isolated factory or factories. So the question of Free Trade will pass from a party to the whole, and from politics into business or industry, as all are in the Combine. Then all questions, such as the money and immigration questions, China's exclusion act, commerce, etc., will be settled in the interest of the Combine, on purely business principles, hence may or may not need parties at all; but as we can give the party man, who now works it for a living, some more agreeable job (and we easily can, for there is not one in a hundred of them that likes it), why, he will not object. There are lots of agreeable things to do in the Combine aside from sawing wood and peddling tin ware; besides such jobs as these will all be taken before he fairly gets his eyes open; but let him select just what he would like to do—aye, perhaps what he has always longed to do—then a second and perhaps a third choice, and report to the superintendent; and then, with a non-taxable home and a patent for it direct from the political government, he can feel easy, a state of mind foreign to any and all office-seekers, for their unrest is proverbial. To be plain, industry is sick and tired of playing second fiddle to politics. It recognizes its relationship by accepting in good faith its incorporation papers. After that politics must let industry alone.

I must not forget to be considerate to the sensitiveness of partisans. Industry can have no use for parties. I am quite ready to defer to expert thinkers, real statesmen, as to the needs of politics when separated from industry, only requiring that they have the motive of self-interest. (You and I can trust men in anything when they adopt self-interest as a motive, and not till then). If good and competent men decide that any matter entirely political in character, can be better manipulated through a distinctly political party, so be it, but as I write I remember how parties, mixing up with industry, finally got us into the war of the rebellion, and then slunk away and left loyal men regardless of party to fight it out. I think that parties may do the same again, for to stir up strife seems to be about all they have been competent to do. A political party has no right to mix up with an industrial matter.

The evidences that we could get along without parties in politics is seen in the fact that we did get along without them for many years, at the beginning of our republic; just how it can now be good for us to chew the rag like a lot of spoiled children, and threaten and lie about each other, and then after election implicitly say, "Oh, I didn't mean anything by it," is a bit hard for a self-respecting man to comprehend; in fact, I don't wonder that multiplied thousands of men abominate parties and wonder if there is any other way. America is the larger family. Is a family row a good thing for a family? Hardly. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Ours came nigh going down in that great rebellion. You cannot blame an old soldier for remembering that, had it not been for the bad blood of political parties, we could have paid for every slave with the money that the rebellion cost and had money left to have bought a home for every slave set free. Shall we let our foolish children get us into another war now to liberate the wage slaves, which must be liberated, both white and black, or shall we, as guardians "stop the racket" by adjusting matters in time? Parties are not needed even in politics; we think they belong to a departed age, for they have the same old battle cry, "To the victor belong the spoils." But if there can be no spoils it may be different.

We cannot believe that political parties are in harmony with the genius of self-government at all but regret, most of all, the mistake that so very many good men are making, i. e., expecting that industrial relief is to come through some political party, either new or old; it is misplaced confidence, my friends. My conclusions are that the very reverse has been true, and we believe forever will be true. Political parties but serve to aggravate. They are a throwing-down of the gauntlet, a banter for a fight, and very frequently nothing but a preponderance of self-interest prevents it. Parties are the bane of politics, much as competition is the bane of industry. Vote for measures and men as the exponents of these measures, as we did, as a nation in the days of Washington, we started right in this matter, but an enemy sowed tares among us. The sooner we begin voting for a man because he is a competent man, and not because he is a partisan, the better for him and us.

But I will not presume to give a disquisition on parties. Why should I, when it is in the very nature of the Industrial Combine that parties are irrelevant and not needed at all. If now, in our initial movement toward industrial equality, if it be taken up by any one of the parties, whether new or old, would surely be antagonized by the others. Besides, the rank and file of all parties are in favor of a home and a job assured to all the people.

Every Combine looks to the government for its charter (observe that the government is not the charter or the charter the government), and so we will of course; and parties are now as a

fact, in close connection with the government, and it has done and is doing much of its work through parties. So we need and must have their friendship, and must not offend them. But there is a right way, as I have tried to elucidate, in the plan of work. I am impressed that deep thoughtfulness is needful here and now, so will include in this postscript note the words of our serious President in his memorable speech at Gettysburg, after reviewing the past great war. Mr. Lincoln said: "It is rather for us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolved that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Let us stop; and with uncovered heads as if in his presence ask ourselves this serious question, Whither are we now drifting? What have the people got to say when wealth, through a political party, sends out her mandates? Are we even now a government of, for and by the people? I think we are in a sympathetic mood and willing to be fair; so let us say to politics, "Hands off," and let the captains of industry manage industrial affairs. The people in their co-operate capacity are abundantly able to take care of themselves."



Doctors.

An injustice done to one is the real concern of all. How will industrial equality affect the medical profession? Probably the least from the material point of view, of any class in society, yet to the extent it does affect them, I think it will be most agreeable.

In a peculiar sense their thought and work is outside of finance. The question of the business world, "Will it pay?" they seldom ask or consider; they usually pursue their studies and investigations from scientific philanthropic or benevolent motives, quite apart from the financial. True, many are competent financiers, and take delight in it, but I think that usually necessity, rather than pleasure, impels them to make their collections, and they prefer to give themselves entirely to the good offices of their profession and let others plan for their material support. But if it should become an enforced necessity it would be a kind of skeleton in the closet, diverting them away from the practice of their profession. It is a restless feeling that they must make a living for themselves and families as well as to attend to the minutia of their profession and because of this a mental debate begins. The profession says, Keep people well if possible and cure them as soon as possible if sick. Finance says, Let as many people get sick as possible and stay sick as long as possible. This looks like an enforced relationship, a kind of marriage under protest, a condescension of the sublime to the ridiculous. The facts are, the financial ghost takes much of the pleasure out of the profession. Is there no way for a doctor to give himself up to the practice of his profession, or for a lawyer to apply his undivided attention to matters touching his profession, or for a clergyman to devote himself to society, to uplift, to soothe, to assure? Society supports all these men now, so it would assume no additional burden if it undertook their support as a part of its own concern, which it could do proficiently and far more economically for itself in its financial views, as well as with untold advantage to the well-being, physically, morally and spiritually, of all those who look to these professions for help in time of need. The facts are these, professions have usually neglected the financial, to their own great loss, as well as the professional loss to society. Financiers have shown themselves willing to attend to finances and have done so to perfection, but, alas! entirely for their own individual profit, and a corresponding great loss to the profession in money and to the people in service. The desire to be relieved from attending to finances is not at all new to the profession, so my remedy is not to be counted among the long list of new remedies—only the application of what we really have in our possession to the affairs of industry. To be pointed and clear, I will explain in parenthesis that our theory is, that industry must become separate and apart from politics. It must stand distinctly by itself on its own pedestal. Our fathers were careful that there be no mixing of Church and State and they were right. Now we have as distinctly come to the parting of the way and must declare from this time on

that there be no mixing of industry and State. Our practice, then, will necessarily demand a head and so industry, including both capital and labor, must rationally come under one management, and we have the Industrial Combine. That settles it, and without humiliating anybody. A man is not likely to strike himself or lock himself out. You call to mind that a corporation is individual in its character. God asked Moses a significant question. Moses had been floundering around to get out of duty. The question to him was, "What is that in thine hand?" (Exodus iv:2). The teaching was and is the using of what is in hand, i. e., the corporation here and now.

We believe the medical profession, had they the power, would give a home or find a home for every one, and that particularly in the interest of public health. They would prescribe healthy work, not only as the best kind of exercise, but as a sure relief from mental depression—the best mental stimulus of giving definite support and maintenance to the home.

People are the most likely to keep well who have a definite something to live for. The mental stimulus of a home and its maintenance is invaluable to the public health. Then a clear, definite, encouraging, well-established and positively assured way of making a living is quite on an equality as a guaranty of healthfulness to a positive and comfortable home. Every doctor appreciates the value of restfulness for health, as a contented mind is a continual feast. The reverse, a disconcerted mind may well be considered in its effects on the general health, in the light of a continual fast. There is present a great unrest, as of some impending disaster. We all feel it and hear it. If one is a homeless wanderer, he becomes an easy prey of epidemics; if out of a job and sick at heart, the body soon sickens in sympathy, and also, if depending on keeping a job for his or her daily bread. These not only trouble the brain during the waking hours, making us as its victims less efficient, but disturb the appetite and digestion and the proper assimilation of food. Not so, having a job and a home, the doctor is called in only to help eat the Thanksgiving turkey and the Christmas goose, and all laugh and grow fat. Neither doctor nor patient is concerned about bad debts, for there cannot, in the very nature of things, be any debts seriously bad, and no heart-sickening concern about what we shall eat or wherewithal shall we be clothed—that's the superintendent's business to see about that and he is perfectly free and easy, and as a part of the great economic combine his duties are completely under his control. Dividends are declared in lieu of fees, salaries, or wages, and in cash or its equivalent, sufficient to supply every need, so that it remains the doctor's entire business to attend to matters pertaining to his profession, as well as the lawyer's business to practice law and the minister's business to preach the gospel, at the same time feeling assured that both he and his church can practice what he preaches. The statesman can, unprejudiced by finances, think out matters of statecraft suitable to a Christian nation. The mechanic can put his enthusiasm into the perfect adjustment of the machine he operates. The farmer can plow the field, plant the seed, cultivate, reap and gather into barns, intent on doing his whole duty, but assured of a certainty of returns, and dividends, and not possible losses, that sometimes makes his own heart and those of his family die within them, but cheered by the fact that somewhere, crops are always good; it may be here this year and there next year, but his returning wants are continuous and must be and are uniquely met by his dividends and his dividends depend entirely on honest labor and not on the crops. The combine has great ability to distribute, by railroad, the crops of

California with Oregon, or Ohio with South Carolina, if desired. This assurance brings out the vital force that is in a man, and thus raises the standard of health to its maximum in every man, woman and child included in its embrace. The maximum state of health is not all that is gained by every one having a home and material maintenance assured: public morals, Christian culture, a higher education, a firmer grasp on the infinite, a deeper devotion to the God of nature and to nature's God are likewise obtained. I appreciate the fact that I am presenting this most important industrial and material subject to my intellectual superiors or peers, who are as competent to think out the new relation of the doctor to his patient, or society, as I am; but as it has been said, "A man may be familiar with his peers." I only presume to set ordinary things in a new light, that is a light in which they have not been presented before. So, if you please, let us pursue the subject in its possible practical application, somewhat in detail. We will suppose the wealthy, as a class, are reconciled to the new order of things and have abandoned, as a man would his homestead, all their right, title and interest to all their private possessions to an industrial department of the government, for an acceptable consideration: first, for a title to their own home back again, if they so desire—if not, a comfortable home elsewhere, as agreed upon by consultation with the commission, which is composed of physicians, in part, at least. This title is superior, mark you, to the old title, in that the home cannot be sold for taxes or for any debt or mortgage, nor taken on mortgage, nor by any member of the family. They of course can abandon it to the government if they and the commission think it wise to do so, and are then entitled to another, of like comfort, and as all may think better adapted to their enjoyment of health or life in any of its prospects.

Now that both labor and capital are to be hereafter under one management, this procedure seems advisable because the decree now is that all must have homes of their own, and usually of their own choice, if they have any choice; that is, that the new title should issue in all cases direct from the government and under revised stipulations and provisions. Also in that some such procedure would set aside the thought of partiality. All homes cannot be alike as commodious but if the government exhibits a real spirit of fairness, it will disarm any disposed to complain. Observe, in passing, that this home is the private property of the family. There is, as I believe, a God-given magic in the possession of private property that must not only be maintained but encouraged—even as part of our school-day education, as my home on earth is akin to and a forerunner of my home in Heaven, and each individual should be enabled by society to say, "My home." I can see no objection, for the present, at least, of using existing measures of value, silver, gold, etc; they have not only absolute use, but absolute convenience and the proposition is to use all of good that we now have to produce more and greater good. One of the present uses will be found in the proper settlement between the government and the original owners as I may best show by an example. The government decides to combine all the productive property now used in the industries into one combine, making all the people stockholders, and hence entitled to dividends in lieu of wages, fees, salaries, etc., these dividends to be paid in cash or its equivalent. So the combine authorized by the government approaches the original owner to buy his interest, and the probable basis of valuation agreed upon will be the present actual worth in gold coin; not that the government, through the Combine, will pay gold coin in hand, ex-

cept possibly in small amounts, where a small margin exists, but more particularly as a basis for the deferred payment, upon which a small rate of interest should in fairness be paid by the government. It is agreed by the commission of experts on that class of property, and their attorney, with the owner, that his mill, factory, farm, railroad, steamship, etc., or his financial interest therein, is worth, we will say, \$100,000; that his fine residence and lot upon which it stands is worth, say, \$40,000; total, \$140,000. Now deduct \$40,000 for this home and estimate his stock, which all must have, both rich and poor alike, in the new combine, at \$40,000, which, at three per cent, will equal \$1,200 annual dividend, which it has been estimated will be sufficient for the running expenses of an average family of father, mother and three children; these having their home free, prices reduced, if thought best, by an obvious increase, by co-operation, in productions, and decreased by freer distributions by railroad, steamship, etc., all made possible by universal co-operation. The account stands, \$40,000 for the home, more or less, \$40,000 capital stock in the combine, equals \$80,000, which deducted from his \$140,000, leaves \$60,000, to be paid in some form of government obligation, bearing a low rate of interest, and to be paid in, say, five, ten or twenty years. The government assumes control as a receiver, but immediately turns it over to the Industrial Combine, a corporation organized by the people for the purpose, which will proceed to operate it for and in the interest of the stockholders, identically like a railroad combine, they getting, as in the case of the home, a title direct from the government, better in any and in all particulars than though it had come from Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie, or any other man or single class of men. This \$40,000 of stock is merged into the combine, not only because it will be more productive there than if operated alone, but it will be as much or more his or her own private property than private property can possibly be now, for now no man is secure in his possessions of any kind except government bonds. A stronger than he or any of the above-named gentlemen may come and turn one or all of them out bare-handed into the street, with no home or maintenance assured. By this method the magic of private ownership of property is maintained, not only in the home but on into the productive property, to be used in the maintenance of the family. But we will follow it still further into its accumulations. We have set one hundred dollars per month for necessary running expenses. This may be a little more or less than considered necessary, and should the stockholders determine that part should be retained by the combine and allowed to accumulate, and thus increase their capital stock, or reduce the hours of labor, it may be ordered by the same law and legal process as now prevail governing the combine and its stock-holders on per cent dividends. We have tried to present one method of preceeding in establishing the home and the Industrial Combine. It may be of interest to you to follow it on into its probable practical working and effects on the doctor and his patient (this takes in all the people). We will assume that it has become the doctor's prerogative to keep these people well, as well as to cure them as soon as possible, if sick. We will say the doctor lives in San Francisco, and by decision of the Medical Board is assigned, say one hundred families of five each, or five hundred in all. This Medical Board has previously distributed to each of these families a book on "How to Keep Well and How to Proceed in Case of Accident or Sudden Sickness." In this book, perhaps, are some blank spaces on almost every page for this family physician to give some special directions,

applicable to this special family. The family physician becomes a family's confidante, and is expected to call in any time like a member of the family, and he has been chosen by the family in most cases; it may be on special application, or a preference at least for one or three or four offered to the family to select from, as assigned by the Medical Board to that locality or ward, village or city or country, always agreeable to the doctor and by his consent. Of course, distance must necessarily be taken into consideration by the family, and a doctor considered the family physician for ordinary cases of sickness perhaps may, in cases of "life and death," be requested to send for another doctor, who may have been a family friend, for consultation. Probably no downtown office will be needed, as there is now no object to "catch the trade." The doctor is supposed to live at home, and his home is supposed to be in the center of his field of practice. If the doctor does not have a son or daughter to receive callers or to answer his telephone, the industrial school must provide him with a young man or woman, probably below the school age limit, say from seventeen to twenty-one, who may aspire to study medicine, but now to act as an assistant. Specialists will be located much as they are now, or perhaps more intimately connected with sanitariums, hospitals, etc., but the people will not be expected to pay for treatment, as the doctor is now provided for by his dividends in the Industrial Combine, the same as his patients. Shops, mills, factories, railroad centers, etc., should have a surgeon, whose duty it should be to be on the premises during working hours to treat emergency cases. The universal use of the telephone in both city and country will be beneficial alike to the doctor and his patients. It is not intended to make the doctor's duties burdensome, but we believe he will earn his money as surely as if he carried the hod or followed the plow. Yet he will in no way be injured, and as he occupies such a high position of influence in society, his opinions in these industrial matters, like his medicine, will be taken with the confidence unknown to any other class of men; and, as we firmly believe, we cannot successfully proceed without him, and certainly not against him. This may seem too frank an acknowledgment but in looking at the facts as they really exist, we feel impelled to make it, and we do not believe that professional honor will take an advantage of it to defeat the people. There is a peculiar emergency upon us, as seen in the conflict between capital and labor, and a boldness of treatment unknown to any preceding age is an absolute necessity to arouse the people to a sense of their financial thralldom and business privileges, an industrial combination taking in all the people. But uncontrolled combination is fast taking the place of competition, and becoming an enormous power and menace to the liberty of the people, threatening to squeeze the life out of all the people, except a few favorites, in the Combine. The intelligence of the profession can and do see this, and in time to prevent it if they will. Let me appeal to you in the interest of public health, in the broad interest of humanity, to help, when and where help is so much needed, and at a strategic point where nothing else can avail, and accept the gratitude of a grateful people as your reward. Let me impress the fact that nothing less than the magic word "home" will unite the people. All can comprehend that, and all it means to them, if they do not have one, but if they have, and are not already willing, they can be persuaded, by our united tact and suitable diplomacy, to not only become willing, but active workers, to bring about the People's Business Combine.

We must become and continue to be a yet more positive people.

we have entirely outgrown the swaddling clothes of negations, and negative methods of procedure, so no more holding back. You may say as bad things against the Democratic party as you can think of, but the worst thing that you can say of it is, that it is a negative party; you can say as good or bad things as you please against the Irish people, but their greatest weakness is that they are a negative people. In all the crimes of competition the worst of all is that it is negative; it is against every man.

Back when civilization was young, we hear the then necessary thunderings of the "Thou shalt nots" coming down from the mountain of Sinai, to a people very properly called children. But long years after, when Christ came, the children were larger grown, and God adapting Himself to their advancement, sweetly said in persuasive accents, "Blessed are," "Blessed are," "Blessed are," in the beautiful language of the Beatitudes, echoing from a mountain of Galilee, accessible (mark you) to the multitude. He sat down and lovingly taught the people, all the people; and from that day until now, civilization has been trying, through a thousand defeats and failures, to graft on, to connect Christian to itself, until here at the very antipode of the hill country of Judea, America, and in our America, do we find self-government, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, to receive self-interest, and the long-sought union is consummated, and civilization and Christianity are no longer twain, but one flesh, one word; Christianization, like as a word, is the sign of an idea. Do we catch up the idea and read as never before, "Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them"? Which idea being crystallized into statute, law, and revealed now as of purely industrial signification and intended for the guidance of men and women, not saints or angels, but men, and that, too, while here on earth and in every possible industrial business relation, entirely intended for live men, and adapted to men, and that all along and at every age from the cradle to the grave, and thoughtfully may it not be, Doctor, whether you are prepared to believe it or not, that some one in whom God has confidence and whose requests He respects, has spoken to Him about our larger family, our America; and that He is moving in His way to answer that request. And furthermore, He, who can make the wrath of man to praise Him, may He not be teaching us by the object-lesson, seen in the ability of one man to manipulate a billion dollar combine as easily as a child does a toy, of a time just at hand, when the whole industrial department of America can be as easily manipulated from one center of management, one combine, one definite plan, and touching all alike kindly and equally just to you and me and all the people. Else, Doctor, why do combines forever succeed, notwithstanding our mad rush to destroy them? We cannot claim that they are fundamentally wrong, but rather, that they are rude, like a big, overgrown, awkward brother tossing his baby sister around roughly yet playfully, simply to show that he can; and may we not as thoughtfully conclude, as we grimly confess to the failure of strikes (for nearly every strike that seemingly succeeds is as bad as a failure), that they are a misconception, and that it is not a union of men outside of industry (we have that complete already in the political government established in 1876), but a union of industry that we really need. As well as men love their union, there is not one of them but would change place with a stockholder in a combine, if they could.

Thus they unwittingly admit that the principle underlying the combine is right and is truly susceptible of becoming a friend—a friend that is not only willing to be a friend in need, but abundantly

able to become a friend in deed. Doctors agree in this that to keep people well, attention must be given to building up vitality and resisting power (they can't do it now with authority). That some men can resist an epidemic that carries another off his feet is apparent. The real hope of the profession is to build up vital force. Vaccination and inoculation are all well enough, but it is far better to be so healthy as to be immune. A discrete and good-tempered supervision must be given to the profession to enforce a prohibition from a business standpoint, which is far more agreeable than from a political, moral or religious standpoint. One of the advantages in it is seen in the utter helplessness of objecting to it, no matter whether it is in eating, drinking or wearing.

Government is political in character, so we are not suffering from any imperfection of our political government. It is perfected; it is self-government; it is complete; it is a republic and at peace with all the world; it is all right just as it is, able and ready to take care of itself—let it alone. We are all loyal to it, and nobody disputes the fact that it is doing its duty—its whole duty, and as a government it cannot produce, so don't expect it to help us industrially; it could not if it would. Industry is out of its domain, and mark you, our suffering comes only from the disorder of our industries, hence we must look to industrial business for a proper adjustment, because business manipulates all industries. Government cannot, morals cannot, religion cannot, unions cannot, but, aye, business pure and simple business can, and as it devolves upon business to adjust the right relations of industry, to what form of business are we to look for relief? To that form of "go as you please, every fellow for himself," knock down and drag out planless way called competition? Or the courteous, gallant, differential, dignified, self-respecting, definite, orderly method of business, called the combine?



What Effect will Industrial Equality Have Upon the Intentions of Men?

In a sense we live in our intention. A purely exclusive intention born in the child, living and breathing in its home an atmosphere of exclusiveness, will likely cause it to be intentionally exclusive, as he launches out into active life as we have it now, and hears the precept, "Every fellow for himself," and finds it really to be the rule of business action, is it any wonder that he continues to be so supremely selfish (used in the sense of exclusiveness) as not to recognize in his intentions the just rights of other men or the rights of the God who made us all and entitled to our respect and recognition. On the other hand, if born into a home breathing out good will in its social and business relations with all men, launching out into a society whose very intentions is to be fair and equitable in its business relations, he will rather recognize the just rights of others and the also the rights of God. Competition literally teaches antagonism, and if our hand is against every other in business, is it to be expected that we can have heart-felt co-operation in morals and religion? If God did let us all into Heaven, we would quarrel and cheat from force of habit. Combination of business interests will lead us intuitively to harmonious efforts to obtain the good, the true, and the beautiful in life, and then on up to the Maker of it all. Opposition in trade may be, and is the life of competitive trade, but it is death to the trader, especially if he succeeds, because it fatally poisons his intentions. He intends to be unfair, intends to cheat, and may break any and all of the Ten Commandments, to get the best of the trade, and knowing that he can't get in by the door, he desperately takes his chances of getting into Heaven some other way, and thus cheating God. It's too bad that he was not born to better trained parents, and into better environments of both home and general society, that his first intentions might have been good rather than evil. It is not enough to excuse himself by thinking everybody does it. It is a sad comment, to be sure, on our present nefarious competitive system, that it is so nearly true. Every good intention to reform will sooner or later end back again into this broad path to evil—nothing less than the other direction, the other end of the path of life, the exact reverse of competition which is *combination*, the spirit of co-operation, can ever permanently avail. Being fair by intention in our business relations, we will be fair by intention socially, fair by intention morally, fair by intention religiously, and being free moral agents, we will be fair by intention with God. People of all ages are imitative creatures and quickly catch the spirit surrounding them, from the example of co-operation among a few men as we see it in the combines before us. Our intention is to immediately appropriate the idea so that its good offices may not only reach the few now in it but all the people. It's right in theory and will prove to be right in practice. We must act. It's an axiom that "All men would rather be good than evil." That we do not succeed in being good is largely because of our business training,—competition forbids it; we can't quite be good and knock down and drag out our brother man and do it intentionally.

Lawyers.

In presenting industrial equality for the consideration of the legal profession, I am not seeking to inform them but to remind them and enlist their sympathy in favor of a better industrial condition of society, and to the extent of securing their enthusiastic cooperation. I am aware that any compromise is against the interests of the profession, much as universal good health is against my own profession; yet, it is exceedingly plain that it would be better for society if it were only the physician's business and interests to keep people well. So if lawyers were only interested in seeing that society shall do just the right, and shun the transgression of any law, the practice of law, as we now know it, would at least be quite another matter, so that it may require a spirit of magnanimity on your part to even begin this investigation. Let me insist for both of us that we rise above selfishness as far as our previous education or training will allow, and put ourselves, if we can, outside of and beyond our environments, as though our accustomed work was over and life and its mighty interests were now passing in review, or that somehow we were permitted to go back to the beginning, as it were, in the life of a son, perhaps, and live it all over again, but this time in the interests of others, and try to realize the fact that we have really become, both here and now our brother's keeper, trying to think out all that "brother" can be made to mean to us, as well as that other word "keeper." Labor may not be looked upon as so many do, as a penalty that all men have to pay, and yet all men seek to avoid. The difference largely lies in its relations, and it is in its relations that the help I ask is needed, rather than in the labor itself. Men and women are not working to hurt themselves; it is the menial idea that hurts. If lawyers had been as industrious in adjusting right relations between laborers, from the beginning, teach them to think the right thoughts, most, if not all the existing differences, would have been avoided, or could never have existed. The facts are, we have helped the one most who needed it least, because, as it seems, the coin was in the hands of that one. But be that as it may, we must look at the conditions as they are now, and with a determination to set industrial wrong right.

And as we propose to deal with society and its relations, we must, from now on, try to see to it that all enter society on an equal footing. (Lawyers will understand that this is only a short chapter in a little book and excuse the disconnection and the author for just hitting the high places.)

The unit of society, as we assume, is not the individual, but the family, and the family touches society at the home and in a sense begins where the home leaves off. These homes may not need be alike, except in permanency. All must have a home, with its comforts guaranteed to them (See remedy), amounting to a real stake in the country, a completed self-interest. Anything wrong in this as a matter of jurisprudence? Anything wrong about this as a matter of public policy? This we believe will make good citizens out of

of tramps and real soldiers out of citizens. Is it not a shameful burlesque, judge, to make a man believe he is fighting for *his* country, when he has not and cannot get a home in it? We, as society, can not only afford to advance every mother, real or prospective, a home; but as I hope to show, we cannot afford to not do it, and that loyally in the defense of our own family. Is it not the true principle of society to develop men and women for associates? Now, to develop these, we must develop their self-respect. Is that done by giving them toys and sweetmeats, as charity? To be sure, there is a sense in which a start may be considered a gift—so may political freedom; so may a public school education; so may family gifts, etc.—and, like these, the process must not stop short of its greatest object, in that every one is guaranteed a home. This, like freedom and education, is given to others and all alike in our own defense. No one can take an education from a child, nor, as yet, political freedom from a citizen; neither should they take homes, and they cannot when industry is raised to an equality with political freedom. All are entitled to all these things and we, as society, owe it to each other on the basis and from the fact that we are men and women, or will be, and not because we earn these things. Now, as we said, at the very threshold of the home, society begins, and the nation is vitally concerned, not only that all shall have and keep their education and liberty, but also their homes, and that the home should develop men and women for our associates; so it must be sacredly guarded by society in order that all may not only have an equal opportunity for development, but the best opportunity, hence it becomes the business of society, the larger family, to protect the feeble in mind as well as the feeble in body, and the man or woman who is feeble-minded enough to sell their liberty, their education, or their home, must be protected by society and prevented from doing so.

Society may be considered simply as an extension of legal guardianship. Lawyers will keep in mind that I am trying in this letter to them to reach the people, who in their political capacity took America from King George. The people in their industrial capacity now take over America from King Capital; then the people will be as free and equal industrially, as we are now free and equal politically. We have become accustomed to political equality and think it is allowable and all right. We will soon become accustomed to industrial equality and think it allowable and all right.

The equality of the declaration of independence is all right, so far as we have observed or obeyed it, but that is not very far. It is a very modest document in theory, but far more in practice if it meant only political equality; as it would today be almost obsolete, for now our great size protects us, so that grit is hardly needed. If it anticipates industrial equality, as we think it does, our business training or better called industrial fighting, known by that euphonious name, Competition, has nearly ruined us, carried us wide of the mark, for the very reverse has been our seeming object. As unequal as we were in wealth in '76, society has and does allow the strong to help themselves to the solid coin of the realm, and pays the weak off in pity and good advice. If society would be honest enough to even keep hands off, that there might be a fair fight, it would not be so bad, but to rub down the bully and load him with all he can carry off, and then thrown in a transcontinental railroad or two, seems contemptible. I am reminded of an historical narration which every lawyer might do well to read. (Doctors read it. I have read it, and you must read whether you believe the Bible or not.) It can be found in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of II Samuel.

If all were equally wise, but they are not, then the ignorant are the ones needing help. If all were equally rich, but they are not, then the poor are the ones who need financial aid. Are all equally strong?—but they are not; then the weak need protection. Is it possible that we have been doing, as a nation of brothers, just the reverse of this and yet call ourselves after Christ a Christian nation? If so, let us do as Sam Jones says, "Quit our meanness." Political government is not instituted or maintained for spoils, but for those who need it most, and industrial productions are intended for those who need them. Society must be competent to know its own wants, and one is a member of it as well as another, both politically and industrially and can, when all classes are included and united under like managements attending to their own business affairs in their own way and will do so to perfection. Suppose the race goes hereafter into society from a home in which all have had equal opportunity, simple justice having previously been done them by the family up to this point. Now society, the larger family, takes them and continues this principle of justice to its "children of larger growth." But how is it now. Look at the young man fight; he is not taught to fight in his family life, but fight he must now, ay. It seems to me a little less than infamy to turn young men out to prey on others, and to be preyed upon—to vandalize and to be vandalized. It is easy to walk all over a fellow when we once get him down, and you will agree with me, when you have thought it out that the man tied down is the least injured of the two after all. The character is the real man, and God, the competent Judge, does not always find it associated with great wealth. So it is clear that society must continue the family's watchful care, from the cradle to the grave, and it is her rightful business to do it; it is what she is here for. How can she best do it? Society must show authority. A family, for example, without parental authority, is a monstrosity, but kindly discreet authority, as important as it is, is a small affair when placed in comparison with the commissary or general supply department, or the department of character-building. It is the parent's duty to do anything for the children or home that it can do better than the children can do for themselves, just as the parents must do for each child anything that they can do better than the child can do for itself. So must society step in at twenty-one and do for the incompetent children of a larger growth.

In one sense, all members of the family are members of society, but as individual responsibility now rests upon the supporting members of the family, I shall include them particularly in the answer to the question, How shall society proceed in the industrial part of its affairs. We have been and must continue to be careful in preserving the rights of private property, in the home, so that no member of the family can sell or give it away, thus maintaining the rights of each member to say, "My home." I wish to say right here, in passing, that a real intrinsic value is attached to the home, partially, at least, from the fact that we all do own as individuals. So we must all still maintain individual rights to property through life, not en masse, but as individuals and as stockholders in a combine; we can do so, and judge it is the only way. I am not a lawyer, but I know that much law. It used to be said that competition was the life of trade, though it may have proved to be the death of the trader. Combination, its direct antithesis as a principle, is beginning to prevent the masses from ever becoming traders, and to petrify every atom of matter for its own selfish use. Some of the most thoughtful stand appalled before it, but most all sail around on the periphery or narrowing circumference of this great maelstrom, as innocently as a child at play, innocently unmindful of what combines

really mean to us who are not stockholders. But I am not here to oppose—it is useless now to oppose—rather to use and appropriate the very principle involved—the Combine Idea. It is like fire or water, a good and necessary servant, but a hard, cruel, crushing, destructive master, if uncontrolled. Society has been opposing, yielding, yea, sacrificing itself by deferring to these private contractors for this, that and the other, instead of doing all its own distribution and all its own productive work, fostering ex-officio or private fortunes to its own loss. It is almost an axiom to say that under our competitive methods of business a gain in wealth to one means a corresponding loss somewhere, making inequality more and more unequal. Prudence may dictate that habits of business-procedure long established, possibly coming down to us from the dark ages, should not be changed for any light and transient causes, hence we have been innocently disposed to suffer while evils were sufferable rather than to right ourselves by abolishing the sly motive of competition; to the selfishness to which we had been accustomed, under monarchical government, but when a long train of misfortunes unrepugnant, arising invariably from this same cause, threaten us with absolute despotism of wealth, ruling us instead of we ruling it, it is our right and has become our duty to adopt a higher motive, self-interest as a sure safeguard for our future well-being and security as a republic. We all feel this pressure of an injustice—some more, some less. To get relief, every class restraint must be laid aside. As we have seen, all are not equally wise, judge, to do and dare in matters of large moment, and hence do not act in time to avoid mobs, strikes, revolutions, etc., a possible procedure as easy, may be, for the legal profession as the organization of a corporation. The laboring, or any other class, can no more, as an unaided class lift or take themselves out of their unfortunate condition than a man can lift himself by his own boot-straps. You must help us. All must be united and lift together, but on what basis? Labor, as a word, has a stigma attached to it, and can never be popular in a leading sense; and then it means a class or party, and that must kill anything that goes by a class name, and its friends must be brought to realize it. Hence, labor will not do for a basis. Industry, to be a vital moving force, must persuade men, must appeal to their sense of justice, must offer an inducement. The very idea of a class or union is exclusive in its own ideal existence, thus setting up a defiance, not only on its own account, but invites a counter-defiance by those not included thus putting persuasion out of the question. Any kind of an antagonism is not applicable and cannot be recognized or become a basis. Human nature is odd. The old Quaker had it about right when he said to his old wife, “Mother, everybody is odd but thee and me,” and after a long silence, he continued, “and sometimes I think even thou art a little odd.” I go back to the family for an illustration. Let a child, as a member of the family, ask properly for a thing, and if it is proper and in the parents’ power, he gets what he asks for; but let that child demand it, and it is refused. There is all the difference in the world; so now let the homeless ask an able society for a home, appropriately, and they will get it, and you, judge, will be the first to help to give it to them. Everybody knows they ought to have it, and society will politely say, “Well, excuse me for not offering it to you sooner.” Society is not now and has not been opposed to it rather it does not approve of their methods of asking for what they need or by not appreciating the fact that we, as society, are really able to give it to them. Antagonism, from a child up to the President, is no go—at least, President Johnson did not make it go. It is plain that nothing can be accomplished by such antagonism—but

by yielding, and the homeless especially can afford to "stoop to conquer," and by skillful negotiations, diplomacy, if you please, tact and talent, the best that is in each of us, an unlimited spirit of concession to the opinions of others and in the interest of common good.

The lamp of experience, like any other lamp, does not show light on the whole way from the beginning to the end but as we carry it along with us it will shine clearly on the first step we take in the direction of the home for all, and as we step out in its light our lamp will advance with us, shining on every subsequent step until the real home is reached and that not a moment too soon; if it were my mother, my wife, or my child that is homeless tonight, I would insist on it that it be as soon as possible, for my family's sake, as well as that of members of society, the larger family.

The self-interest of society demands that men and women now living in enforced idleness be permitted to support themselves. Let them go to work, some in the idle factories, some others in farming, market-gardening, etc., and some at building homes, permanent homes wherever practical but temporary if not permanent. I say let them, and they will if we only let them. Let every lawyer, farmer, doctor, mechanic, unskilled laborer and statesman build over against his own house. Answer the question from the high motive of self-interest, "What can I do?"—and needless suffering from destitution will soon cease for our land is one of great plenty for all. Combined co-operation will make practical and easy every step of the way.

After all the facts are in, are we not our brothers' keeper? Brother does not mean enemy after all, nor keeper mean destroyer—competitor as we have been taught by our competitive business methods and training, that is, to get rich at all hazards.

Competent management by society is as needful as the material used. So that the idle will largely be able to build their own homes if we plan to give them a chance. Men are not lazy. True, industry has been stigmatized as labor, as service, as menial, and all that, but let us give men an even chance.

If any "lawyer, doctor, merchant-chief," as the riddle goes, hesitates because his sacrifice is seemingly too great, let him take another measurement of himself. This time measure your soul, my brother. Some women have greater souls for a husband than they think. We all somehow feel that we can bank on the great size of the soul of woman, when measured for humanity and a home for humanity. But, my dear judge, the facts are, that both you and your good wife will find the new order delightfully agreeable rather than irksome—to do your part, yea, rather when once enlisted, when interest in the needy can yield returns paramount to effort exerted, a pleasure never found in dispensing doleful charity, but rather akin to that of the family, will ever expand your field of usefulness and broaden life's mission before you. There is no class of men whose business it is to care for society, as a whole, as emphatically as the lawyers. I believe they love to do it. And when once they get clear out and away from their personal fees, so that they need never think of a fee, and engrossed in the uplifting of humanity, becoming friends in need, they will be estimated at their true worth as friends indeed, having their honor maintained, their dignity preserved, necessary wealth assured, a home as elegant as now, yea, the very same home if they love it. For the best results, my brother, your help is needed. Being a stockholder in the great combine, you can give yourself to scholastic and legal matters, while having the most competent financiers in the world at the head of a combine attending to your financial interests profitably to you, which some

of you have not been able to do for yourselves. Suppose a man is rich; now a richer than he may take it all. No insurance guarantees to you or your family after you are gone exemption from a condition of poverty like that now seen all around you. Good men can thus give full swing to the cultivation of the virtues, and bad men should not have private wealth with which to produce a greater crop of vices, for when we think of it, it is vices that are bought and sold, and not virtues. So selfish wealth may not only be a vice in itself, but a buyer of vice.

Adequate strength of body and adequate strength of mind are not always found united in one person, hence the necessity of a harmonious unity of both, unprejudiced by hard lines of demarcation or clannishness. Strength of body is as much a gift of God as strength of mind; but man, each alike, depends upon the other, and society is entitled to the best there is in both. Ability to make money is not and never has been, as you very well know, any criterion of mental calibre, but rather a species of kleptomania.

Our Declaration of Independence reads, "Establish justice." Let us begin now, though it may seem a little late, and live up to it; it is what we are here in America for. We have long enough been seeking the might of wealth rather than the right of the Nazarene. The combines are but finger boards pointing that way.

As a principle, we should not accept a thing for ourselves unless others have a counterpart of it, as at our tables. The individual will, through the combine, become the jolly bread-winner, expecting the home to appropriate every needed luxury. For this happy consummation, I see two possible causes of delay: the first is found in restraint, timidity and lack of freedom in procedure, a holding-back from a kind of false modesty or a real disposition to shirk our own individual responsibility in the matter or waiting for another to move. The second is, a probable disposition to stop short of thoroughness or completion—that is, in leaving some productive property out of the combine, catering to a false definition of personal liberty, thus yielding to a sickly sentiment, a false cry of confiscation, coercion, injustice, etc. There is not a single pretext that can be raised against consolidating all productive property (and when I say all I mean all) into a combine to be operated by the people through the industrial annex of the government, but is just now, this very moment, being utilized in a greater or less degree by political government, and voluntarily yield to it, and we all know it. I defy any man to show one. Mark you, if a single little exception or compromise were made, it would to that extent at least, and may entirely, defeat the measure. Did the Emancipation Proclamation say, all free except a class? No, no; it included all. We as definitely pass under the sway of the combine. We all know that taxation is a species of force, and that an income-tax, in a measure, is confiscation, and any law against trusts an injustice to the trust. Any advance made towards government control by force, to the extent of an express office, a mile of railroad, or municipal ownership of anything, is subject to the same clamor and protest made by selfish men and with as just reason—aye, shall I not say many times greater reason than any entering willingly into the great corportion, which, mark you, is for the real self-interest of everybody, rich or poor. See that we don't fiddle or listen to the music while Rome is burning. We cannot afford to quibble with men or imaginary objections while others as good as they are suffering from destitution and real and absolute want at this very moment. The suffering man is surely equally deserving to the other and equally entitled to our compassion and consideration. The sacredness of human life is certainly more sacred than a presumptive or asserted sacred right of

property, although life is being trampled upon every day in the regular order of existing business, when competition wants to do so. A remedy is simple and easy for an individual or a government when it really wants to apply it, and somehow it then seems right.

Again, lest some yet cling to the idea that a home for all and a working capital, to be placed in the hands of an industrial combine and operated by that combine, will work an injustice to some of the wealthy, let me innocently inquire why a landlord, for example, should be preferred over the laborer whose labor he (the landlord) has taken and stored up as his own accumulation. Has not labor already suffered by this confiscation of its just share, and is not the landlord to be congratulated that his turn has not come sooner, rather than condoned with? If not, why not? But I do not believe a proper adjustment is confiscation at all. Government is simply acting as arbiter. We pay for everything but confiscate nothing, and every one gets his share of the stock; and he is sure to get it, as well as his family after him. Take an illustration: If Mr. Lincoln, at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation, had said, in effect: "Every slave is not only free but, in simple justice, *must* have a home provided"; as I look at it he might have said, "It seems worse than slavery to most of them to be thus turned out without resources and unaided. Government must provide all men with work and supplies, or some must suffer want. Their work must support them and will in the end." If, under proper industrial supervision, if this had been done, and intelligently continued up to this hour for the Negroes, why we really would be poor white trash. Sure enough, if Mr. Lincoln had done so, it might have then been considered an innovation by some. But it seems we are living in an age in which everything advances faster than the sentiment of the Golden Rule. Nothing else seems to be held back for want of a precedent which might mean merely a pretext for deciding a case adversely. Why, these precedents cannot, and ought not, to fit the improved conditions of a child rocked to sleep in a cradle run by electricity, and instead of a morning walk with the judge among the pigstys of the dark ages, just as if thinking that he would find something there applicable to the here and now, the little one is taken by his nurse for a ride in an airship over mountains and seas and back at noon, almost annihilating distance, finding his learned pa with disheveled hair puzzling over and trying to evade the just application of the new commandment (John xiii: 34). God means our improved conditions to reflect on all alike, as does his sunshine. I have noticed elsewhere that our system of education, as good as it is, is incomplete, in that it leaves our young people who have it, as unable or helpless to use it frequently as a Robinsoe Crusoe would have been on his exile island. It would have been a mercy to many of our young people never to have had their ambitions aroused by a preparatory education, rather than now to have them crushed or treated so ruthlessly, when finding themselves to be only educated paupers. They have as just a right to expect society to set them on their feet materially with proper safeguards as to give them a common school education, and society cannot afford not to do it, and that in her own interest as well, for poverty is not a congenial soil for the production of culture.

Let me claim that in the home, matters of state, or the bettering of conditions of industrial society, will be thought out without bias when we are free from the demands of hunger or fear of future destitution, and consequently will be more nearly right and just. Let me claim for such society that it will be fully competent in the premises, not only to be supremely just, but supremely progressive. But society will not, cannot be united or aroused or made to care

as a whole for a small matter, as for example, the merging of an express company into the postal department; though we may think it belongs there and should have always been there. Or, again, the nationalizing of a railroad or two; or, in purely local matters, as city control of light and water plants, street cars, etc. Society will say and see: "These little things do not concern us as a whole. Their scope is far too small; their purpose far too limited." So we argue, the purpose must first be supremely great—aye, great enough to attract the attention of the great mass of all the classes of men and women. That purpose is found in the People's Business Combine, with its central figure, its visible inducement, the home. Home, coupled with its national support, is the embodiment of all our physical life in one word—the greatest word in our language; it expresses the greatest idea possible to material things and will have and hold all in attention. A separate and comfortable home assured to every family is the true basis of the material aspect of society everywhere in any form of government, but especially in a republic. Further, all productive property not included in the home is merged into a combine, to be operated as such, thus disseminating and maintaining the magic of private property, only eliminating from it its present weapon-like idea, so that it cannot be used to injure others, and, mark you, only as the very best method for the manipulation of private property. It is little less than supplanting competition in favor of its opposite, the Combine, and then putting the Combine where all the people can bid it Godspeed. It has been said that lawyers are afraid of religion; even some clients may fear that self-interest is too religious. Let us ask, Is a railroad combine a religious organization? Answer it, yes or no, just as it pleases you.

We have heard people call Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan a good many names, but I never heard any one call him an evangelist; did you? But suppose that every one of our seventy million people belong to Mr. Morgan's combine, and we, the stockholders, have a meeting. The chairman takes his seat on Mt. Whitney (California); a man gets up on some mountain in Maine and says (by telephone): "Mr. Chairman, I move, sir, inasmuch as every vestige of productive property is now in possession of our combine, that we do not need selfishness any more; that we here and now substitute self-interest as a new center of radiation in all our business procedures." A man away down in the valley (Mississippi Valley) says, "I second the motion." The chairman says, "I rule the motion out of order, because the motive of the combines from the very first—the basic idea, the Combine idea, the secret of their business success and guaranty of their continued existence—is the self-interest of the stockholders, be they many or few."

Is that, too, religious? Besides, religious people must necessarily aim at any evil in sight. Even you, judge, may be more religious than you give yourself credit for. So, be fair and give them a chance; they won't hurt you.

The people are left to do as they please in self-government, and so will they be in industry. This is the *multum in parvo* of the whole matter. When self-interest becomes the center of action, we must see and recognize this fact, that the force that animates men is personal inducement; that the force which sustains self-government is its inducement to us as a liberty-loving people; so what does basis in this, a free government. The existing inducement to sustain and extend the saloons, for example, is greater than the business inducement of morals and religion, hence there is no practical way for self-government literally to control inebriety, but to present the fact that sobriety has greater business inducements than drinking. So eating and drinking must necessarily be referred to a

Business Board of Health, with power to act, which practically settles intemperance by statute law. This so relieves morals and religion that they may the more efficiently operate in their respective domains. Some men will selfishly drink until they can and do see a greater inducement, a real self-interest, in abstinence. Smooth down liquor men the right way, judge, and we can catch them, in fact, like a lady if the right one is after them; they would rather be caught than not.

This brings us to the definite proposition: Let Congress pass an enabling act, if that is the smoothest way, of the wisest con-sustain self-interest in Industrial Combines is also their inducements, and of course inducement will ever actuate the People's Industrial Combine, and it, like self-government, must stand upon that struction, authorizing the Industrial Combine, similar in rights and privileges to existing corporations, to include all productive property, to be operated co-operatively for the people as stock-holders. There is positively no way for us to meet the emergency now upon us, but to combine as a whole—a kind of counterplot, if you please—setting this industrial problem as completely at rest as the signing of the Declaration of Independence did self-government: thus preventing thirteen little monarchies. No half-way measure will do—no provision for any backward movement—for our tree of liberty is in as great danger from these wise and legal and (shall I add) righteous combines, as the thirteen colonies were then. Being right, corporations cannot be nullified by any constitutional enactment. Congress or the President has no power or business to interfere with a Combine when acting legally. We do not propose to nullify, but we can absorb them by a process of voluntary absorption. Let the motto be, the order given, "No step backward." Let the legislative enactment be of magnitude, tantamount to the requirements and the legal procedure comprehensive enough to induce every man, every combine, to adopt self-interest in preference to existing selfishness, much as the farmer does—a new, improved and better machine instead of the old. Judge, you know that combines have a legal basis, and that they are too wise to exceed their legal rights, and very seldom do, for they are led by attorneys. You know that they can go on and on until they can legally include, virtually, all property, and that for a corporal's guard of stock-holders; and that Congress cannot pass a restraining law that will be constitutional. Why, even a nation cannot give away a thing and also keep it—we can't eat our cake and keep it! So why should not every lawyer step out and tell the people plainly that there is no way, absolutely no way, but to anticipate these combines by a counterplot that will head them off, so to speak, or receive them in the interest of a combine including all the people; hence, all combine, and that to their real advantage. When there is plainly no other way, judge, you must step to the front and lead the people out, especially that no sacrifice is required—yea, it rather militates to your self-interest, to my self-interest, and to the self-interest of all the people—industrially, politically and morally.

We are not here to denounce but to discriminate between a combine for the people and a combine for a syndicate; yet we assert, as a friend to Labor, that some of the managers of syndicates, by their genius, their genuine ability for planning great projects and pushing them, in spite of opposition, to splendid fruition, simplify methods, expand and cheapen production, show us how to better the condition and give permanency to economics. They bring out and show up the ability of corporation until it has become the admiration, the wonder of the world. These men are doing more than all else in giving definiteness to industrial supremacy and to increase

its prestige; yea, they have shown us that this Republic, as a political government, is prepared for the glorious Combine age—an age of people. As new conditions have arisen, new methods must be adopted to meet them. America, in its search for economics, have been enabled to shout, "Eureka!" We want the best results of production in every possible line of industry, and we have found it in corporate Combination. This is the way that is easiest and cheapest, and we will adopt it both here and now. It applies to individuals, to productions, to distributions, to developments—in a word, to industry. The great corporations that are even now carrying on all the great enterprises of the world are but the epitome of that greater corporation of all the people. The greater, the larger the business, the greater the gain, is a business axiom. Business men will soon see—they see now, judge—that the little billion-dollar syndicates or trusts are grinding upon, wearing each other out, by the friction of events. This fact compels all to think of a common agreement as to production, distribution, prices, etc. All these make the People's Industrial Combine desirable, agreeable, necessary. What better way could be devised to manipulate the envy of innocent ignorance of the child of any age or size and the avarice of the greedy. Legal restraint, if it is right to restrain at all, is too feeble to oppose co-operation. The voice of Labor will forever be inappeasable, and justly so, until it gets all its own productions. The fight can never be declared off until labor gets it all and the good sense of law demands that we make the inevitable surrender on the splendid terms of the Combine.



What Effect will the Industrial Combine Have on the Classes of Men?

Why not wake up now to the fact that we are really separate, independent men? It is an attainable and grand thing to become the son of God. It is also attainable and a grand thing to be a man; we are, perforce of circumstances over which we have no control, animals. But by a planning in the eternal fitness of things, we are expected to get out of the domain of the animal merely and into the domain of men and finally into the domain of God. Animals fight; men co-operate. Which force dominates us, a competitive, selfish animal, or the co-operating self-interested man? Which? It is as much the right of the atheist or infidel to remember and act upon the recollection, that he is expected by a first great designer to as definitely take and occupy a position of manhood, and as emphatically, as if he had really taken that other definite position, "a son of God."

I must diverge from a book on economics just a little, to say that if the human aspires to be a man, he can be, and then if the man aspires to be a son of God, he can be, and from this height, if he will look, he will see that he is now required to "cast up a high way," not only for himself, but "the people," also his brothers—a tangible, natural business way, an industrial way, flesh-and-blood way, yet a Christ way, a "whatsoever ye would" way—in a word, a manly way, for "his people"; not only for the few now on this highway, but build it out, up and on, and then another can see that your invitation carries with it a beautiful consistency, a delightful association, an enchanting pathway. But if you compete with him, fight him never so blandly; take even a nickel that he has earned and is entitled to, and he will spurn you and call your religion in question; also whether there be any "highway of holiness" that your business conduct with him so cruelly contradicts. Excuse this divergence, but I entreat you to remember that there is a God and that he wants you and you must not be or become a disbeliever, because we, his professed followers, do not act in our business relations as his vice-regents, but you help us to work out a plan of business procedure actuated by self-interest, "the *summum bonum*" of manhood, uncontaminated by the brutal instinct of selfishness.

That I believe, that somebody has asked God to take the helm of our ship of state, now lost in the fog of this Labor question, and that He has consented to do it, though He may not sail my way, nor yet thy way, but we can all, saint and sinner, feel the better pleased that it is a safe way if He is at the helm.

Work in itself is not repulsive to us; the being denied the right of choice of occupation and being compelled to do more than our fair share of it, is the rub. It seems to have been the delight of competition to divide society up into classes, then set them to fighting class against class, then to fighting among themselves for a lion's share and then to snarling all around until their faces were so disfigured by it that one would hardly know that they were even

distant relations of (possibly not) the sons of God. The insanity of class-fighting was seen by a few a long time ago, and they put up a flag or true, had a consultation, and agreed to unite their interests, combine and work together. This smoothed out a few wrinkles of the face, of the few, but not all, for there was still a feeling of hatred against other classes, other combines, and the growlers growled on, mad because combinations had helped others as well as themselves, yet they could not see any way to prevent that, and reluctantly agreed to it. And slowly one combine has united with another combine, to the benefit of all included, but, mark you, to the detriment, in most instances, of those not included; then they growled, and soon it increased to a roar, and anti-trusts, anti-combines and anti-monopolies filled the air, and the atmosphere was blue with anathemas, but monopolies and trusts and combines had now dropped onto the combination, and so moved steadily up and on growing even under persecution because they had some elements of right in them, above them and below them, until now we stand appalled in their majestic presence, and in the hush ask ourselves, "What can we do?" and as we try to think, something say, "This way, this is the way; walk ye in it"; that is, step out of classes into one class, all having a common interest.

Combine, where the success of others will be our success; glad that farmers have improved machinery, and can produce abundant crops, as their prosperity is our prosperity; also glad to have coal miners use improved machinery, so as to double their output of coal, when all factories, by the use of up-to-date machinery, multiply their productions; glad when railroads and other public carriers are doubly efficient and prosperous, as their prosperity is our prosperity; we are in their class, then, and they are in ours; fare is reduced, so that all can ride that wish to, or our dividends make us able to pay for riding when we want to do so. A universal Combine of all classes and all productive utilities into one, i. e., under one management! This, in the very nature of the case, must be for the interest of all, and industrial classes are no more.

It is not leisure that existing laboring classes need, so much as it is an equitable distribution, their own share, of the results of their labor. A Combine not only yields greater returns by co-operation, but distributes equitably, fairly. "The greatest good to the greatest number" may mean a bare majority, thus robbing the minority, hence fallacious as a motto; and besides, it is political and cannot apply to industry at all. We must be fair to all.

When there is no pressing need to borrow money, there can be no usury; when dividends take the place of wages there can be no strikes; when all men can have agreeable employment, there will be no tramps. Slavery is defined thus: "Your time is mine." It is said the Fifteenth Amendment destroyed slavery but "Your time is mine" still lives. True, men do not whip other men as of yore, but they discharge them to starve. The end of one kind of slavery made the Fifteenth Amendment necessary. The end of wage-slavery will soon come, and will simply make another amendment necessary.

A Letter to Farmers.

I write to farmers with great hopefulness. They have been the victims of vicious competition and combinations. If merchants have to pay more for groceries, dry-goods, etc., they simply charge the farmer more; if they get less for the farmer's productions, they simply pay him less and the farmers (as a class) cannot help themselves; they are the last men on the ditch, as we say here in California, and if anybody does without, they do. To be sure, they have plenty of fresh air and exercise! While the lives of the farmer and his family are susceptible of the purest enjoyment, they are filled with disappointments, and frequently real want takes the place of expected and merited luxury. Farming is contradictory, not on account of the uncertainty of crops only, but more particularly on account of the business methods imposed upon it. I say imposed upon it—yes, from the very nature of things, the farmers cannot adopt and carry out business methods of their own; they are creatures of circumstances. Yet their efforts are to be admired and we do admire their courage. But if one is on the wrong road and does not get along as fast as he thinks he ought to, and so institutes some reform for the purpose of removing the impediments to his progress, he goes wrong faster and only succeeds in making a bad matter worse. We may well wake up to ask, "Where are we at?" The darkey preacher eloquently said to his interested congregation, "Brederen, thar am two roads; one leads to hell and the other to damnation." A brother spoke out in meeting thus: "What dat you say? If dat am a fact dis darkey takes to de brush." Thoughtfully now, if the roads had been one competitive and the other combine, as we know them, the preacher's blunder would be no blunder at all, but true to the letter.

We observe men are honest merchants, honest farmers—in a word, honest business men, in spite of, and in no sense because of, the competitive methods of business as now in vogue. This wrong road and all its so-called reformatory branches and by-roads lead to inevitable ruin; we must take the road that leads in exactly the opposite direction, viz., the highway of the People's Combine. Now, this is the very same combine, operating for us instead of against us, and it contains the basic idea that will benefit the farmer more than any other class, when it is adopted. To make it plainer, suppose all railroads were in a railroad combine, all coal mines were in a coal combine, all manufacturers of farm implements were in a farm implement combine, and each of the other classes and associations were in their respective combines; you may be able to see that this is possible, for it is, and all by the very same methods now employed in forming or organizing railroad combines, factory combines, gas combines, etc. Now if these combines take in, as they do at the present time from two up to a dozen of the railroads, factories, or other companies, won't they take in all railroads, all factories, or all companies in their line? You know they can, but does this solve the great problem to our advantage? Certainly not. They have done all this organizing into combines for pure self-defense. But what has been the real gain, if the motive remains the same?

How much better is society with its war paint on than it was before these preparations for war were made? Little, if any, with a possibility, that I say not a probability, of being worse off than if they had taken human nature on honor without combining at all.

Now, it would be worse than idleness to raise this question at all, if there was nothing for the farmer to do in the matter, for as sure as you are reading these lines, if we do not anticipate these isolated combines by the formation of society as a whole into one combine as a counterplot, these class combines will be sure to come, and that in sheer self-defense of one class against the other, as self-preservation is the first law of nature. We cannot blame them and do not blame them. Why spend an age in learning a lesson as simple as two and two make four, and that two times two produces just the same result, yet one is addition and the other is multiplication. We do not need to wait until we are bound hard and fast by railroad, telegraph, or factory combines, all bent on squeezing the last cent out of everybody else to give to their own combine. We cannot afford to wait even for another one to form, for while it may be just splendid for the ones in them, it is financial death and destitution for those on the outside; so there is no financial safety on the outside. Put that in your pipe and smoke it.

We must, farmer and all, get on the inside, both here and now. The first thing is, do you want to? This letter is written to persuade you that are reading it to want to. I think no business matter ever presented itself of a hundredth part of the importance as the formation of the People's Industrial Combine, and its formation is summed up in these two words, "want to." Where there is a will there is a way, and if I can show you a way, for the sake of yourself, for the sake of your wife, husband, son, daughter, father, mother and the seventy millions of our fellow-kinsmen of this nation, have the will to do your part.

I claim your attention. You may say, you wonder if it is practical. The every-day combines that we read about have shown us that combination is practical, else how could they combine and succeed? But an idea prevails that it takes a large sum of money. Not so, five men, say without a dollar to work with, may form a combine to operate their separate mines. Another idea prevails, that ordinary mortals, as farmers and laboring men, are not wise enough to run a combine if it were formed for them. This identical thing was said one hundred and twenty-five years ago regarding self-government, but we have succeeded. I have referred to its simplicity, but if it were even difficult to understand the people could understand it; of course they could, if they wanted to. They know enough to come in out of the rain. They know enough to turn around and go back home when weary of wandering. They know enough, when they fail alone, to get another to help; and surely, these things are as mysterious as forming a combine. Yes; you are wise enough if you want to. But the people would not be allowed to form such a combine—too much opposition by the money power etc. Let me answer: If the so-called money power sees that it is to its interest to combine, will it not be as likely to "want to" as you or I? I have tried to show the capitalists, by as kind a letter as I am writing to you, that it is to their interest. A fall from the dizzy heights almost, if not quite, kills, but a fall from skates is even passed off as so much fun—and falling is the rule rather than the exception in slippery competition. The rich will and do combine for safety. In union there is more safety for the rich, as well as the poor, and we who are not rich should, by a studied diplomacy, recognize both the real or fancied rights of property and the higher social standing of its owners (for they are higher, else why do you.

and I want to get rich?—we can afford to “stoop to conquer”) and so succeed in meeting and disarming each and every kind and form of opposition, by kindly demonstrating beyond a peradventure that all the people are entitled to a home; because they are human; because every man is our brother; because we are all safer by far when living among a people with homes; because by co-operative combination every able man and woman can be employed to a supporting degree; because the principle of the combine was taught by the wisest man—the very God—as being not only the best, but the only just business rule of action, not only for the Jews and Christians, but the unbeliever as well; and because it appeals to the common sense and best judgment of any and all the people. No man can possibly put himself or be put in a position where it is not to his real interest to do to others as he would that they should do to him. The so-called Golden Rule is no religious fad; it is business, straight, practical business. Railroad combines are founded upon it—do not stare at me, but look at the facts.

Combines are peculiarly aggressive and will succeed, and are absolutely inviting us, the people, to go along with them; we must go. Strikers are peculiarly defensive and will fail, for not only are they fighting a man of straw, but they are, in a sense, that very straw man themselves. As laboring men we will be foolish to deceive ourselves longer; then let the watchword be, “Stop the fight and combine!” Let me make a prophecy: The exclusion act will not be passed. The Chinamen and the combines will have us in their power, and our labor unions will exit. If the combines have managed to get control of British shipping so peaceably they can import a million Chinamen and move on in the even tear of their way, and leave us. They have no time to fool away; we must either get on now or get left. The emergency is on and I importunately, persuade you to act now.

Look! Manufacturing combines are demonstrating combination to be pure business, so we might go on *ad infinitum*. Can't you see, if these isolated combines succeed against the opposition to them, how much more and how much better can a combine succeed that has no such opposition. We can have it now if we want to, but it may be an incentive to follow out a practical mode of operations. It is an axiom that society is now supporting, either directly or indirectly, every man, woman and child in America; and very many of them are living in enforced idleness, too; they can't get work. Now, a railroad combine is not formed for its health; neither will be the People's Industrial Combine. It will mean business, and it will very quickly say, it is not business to have men idle who want to work; and right here let me meet the error and say that men and women are not idle from preference. Once give men profitable work that is agreeable to them, and all will work and thus support themselves, and relieve society of the heavy burden that it is now carrying, that is, doling out charity to the unemployed, and this burden it can never lay down until relieved by the business sense of a People's Combine. We have seen elsewhere that it is pure business to see that every one in the Combine is situated in a house of his own, thus reducing living expenses to a minimum; that all the employed, to produce the maximum, will work harmoniously, co-operatively, and not against each other as now; that the millions of the idle and unemployed, including the soldiers and sailors, be made (partially; at least) self-supporting. Observe that there is now no settled method or policy because there is no business head, no industrial system like there is and must of necessity be to a combine. If a man is idle now, it is nobody's business until he becomes a vagrant, breaks some law, or becomes an object of

cold-hearted charity, and then he becomes a burden upon those that do work—"that's not business."

Then, as I have pointed out elsewhere how we can, if we wish to, increase our navy and standing army to half a million, all or nearly all living in happy homes of their own near camp and navy yard, and by having homes and being husbands and fathers, having wives and children to fight for, they will not only fight better, but be better men, both morally and physically, and not only that, but self-supporting to a large degree; hence there will no necessity in reducing the standing army, either on the basis of sentiment or economy. This will all come by a simple transfer of our practical business sense, from the heretofore heartless watch-word of competition, "Every fellow for himself and let the devil take the hindmost," to a co-operative combine with a business head to it and practically operating in the interest of all the people. Is it a good thing? You can have it if you want to. Let me observe that there is positively no other way than by the co-operative combine. Suppose that you farmers could come into control of the government, along party lines, or in any way; you would be as tyrannical as the so-called money power is now—yes, you would; they are not sinners above other men; they simply have the power and use it, that is all. Possibly, you would be worse, because the money-power is held in check by sometimes asking the question, Will it pay to carry our privilege beyond certain limits, because they know they can't make money with dead men, they will never quite kill you. It pays to let men live and work for them—so you may squirm and twist and study and think as you will, there is no way but the co-operative combine. It is either that or go on as we are and have been, from bad to worse, and nobody can guess where the competitive road will lead us to.

In referring to the different combines, we intentionally left out bonanza farming until now. It teaches us the lesson in farming of the century. Study it out for yourself. The profits on farming are so small that the thought of multiplying the little profits, as in the bonanza farming, is real good business sense. The reverse of this, that is, dividing up large farms into little ones, is absolute folly. Set that down where you can read it every day. The bonanza farm can afford a most skillful and practical foreman, the best improved machinery, run by the most economical power and skill, supplies, seed, feed and provisions handled at wholesale. Now carry this same idea on up to a combine of all farming under one general management with many expert foremen over what one man can conveniently supervise. This will secure the most competent management, resulting in the greatest production possible; with this unite the most equitable distribution of production and you have the People's Industrial Combine. Now contrast this with a million little farms, with few and frequently old implements to work with, the farmers being unable to get the new, up-to-date implement, must work with the old, at a disadvantage, possibly only having use for a very good machine only a day or two in the year. Finally, his crop may fail, and he has no other resource but to live with a bare subsistence and next year try it again; or again, perhaps the crop is abundant, but the market is overstocked and prices are ruinously low and railroads unmerciful. To be sure, an expert farmer here and there knows how and consequently succeeds, but not one in ten—and not one in a hundred gets rich, as you know. If wheat raising succeeds, everybody goes into that, and it is overdone; if dairying succeeds, everybody goes into that and it also is overdone; and so with other things. You say that is the farmer's fault? I am glad to hear you say this; for it is true. But did he do it willfully? Why, no; he

did the best he knew; he needed some one whose business it was to know. The facts are, only a few here and there are practical farmers at all, or ever can or will be. Most of them try to do just what some one else does. But almost any man or woman can, by making it their business, learn to run an agricultural machine, but to be a practical farmer requires far more skill and far greater ability and I am not blaming him for his lack of ability. The best way is to let the most competent mind direct what to do, and how to do it—one whose business it is to know what his locality is best adapted to and raise that with skill and approved implements, designating also what department of farm work this or that man can do best (we all do best what we love to do), and so increase our production without over production—and why? Because a supervising combine is directing. The captains of industry, the foremen and superintendents, know how much of this, that and the other is needed to meet the national consumption, and so plan to have it produced, and stored at strategic points, and when wanted transferred to where it is needed with as much precision as your mail. I have expressed help, and none to hinder its effectiveness, even the Postoffice Department as a great object lesson of what a combine can do and is doing, and yet it does not fully exemplify it because of the opposition and intrigues of competition, seen in railroad and express companies, etc. Observe, however, that the government in the very nature of things, should not try to do any productive business; it cannot, without exceeding its legitimate powers. It is political and not industrial. But when once it becomes the interest of all to help, and none to hinder, its effectiveness, even the Postoffice Department, will be doubly efficient. Why, bless you, it is not little farms we need—the more we have the greater and more oppressive the competition, and the profits are correspondingly less and less; our present “half a loaf” must be further subdivided, and we sink into peasantry. Then, again, a farm isn’t a home at all—never was and never can be—and it is homes I am pleading for. The monstrous mistake is frequently made by men that ought to see deeper and know better, that statesmen and lawyers and doctors, etc., are the product of the farm; that is, of the broad acres! Why, bless you, a homestead is not a home, for right in the face of this wild, false statement, we find fathers and mothers working their nails to the quick and suffering privations untold, resolving in their great loving hearts to save every cent to so educate and train their boys or girls that they will be competent to do and be something else, and not be compelled to suffer the contradictions of the unaided farm. I have said “unaided” farm, because it is just about as rational to pay off workmen of a watch factory with so many watches as it is the farmer with what he makes or produces on the farm. A combine, a bonanza farm, if you please, pays dividends to stockholders, and stockholders live on these dividends. The great combine will do identically the same and the farmer will be no exception. To be sure, if in the watch factory a workman wants a watch, he can have it, but he does not have to take watches and sell them to get his pay. Just so with the farmer; if he wants some part of the productions of the farm upon which he works, he can have it; but will not be expected, any more than the watch-worker, to take produce and sell it to get his dividends. That would be irrational and unfair to both the farmer and the combine. That would not be business and a combine is business personified. No, no; statesmen, lawyers, doctors, etc., are not the product of the farm; but they are mind you now and never forget it, the products of the home, and very frequently of the rural home. Let us not only continue the rural home, but have millions more of them, all free of

taxes, and with positive title direct from the government—little, neat homesteads, but with houses built to order as well as fixed pieces of ground, of suitable size. I have gone over a description of homes in other letters, and need not repeat it here, only to observe that a rural home need have no connection with the farm at all. A farmer's home may be in the city or village, if he so wishes, as properly as a factory man may live in a village or rural district. Electric car lines, with or without tracks, and under the guidance of the business combine, will be so efficient as to practically unite the city and country and village into one, as well as to furnish the motive power for framing and distributing farm and garden supplies, etc. The implements of progress are thrust on the American people in profuse abundance—in the name of common justice, in the name of humanity, why do they hang on to that old defunct relic of barbarism, competition! Why do men persist in smiting each other down in financial matters like cold-blooded murderers, when we all know it is to our financial interest to lift up and sustain our fellows, that they may, in turn, sustain us. We cannot possibly lose a cent by combining to lend a helping hand whenever and wherever needed. This wicked competition comes especially heavy on the farmer; it causes him to seem to have the greatest freedom of any class and yet makes him a slave to all the other classes. Let all the classes know this: that the farmer is sinned against, rather than sinning; although of educated tastes, the splendor of culture and refinement is denied the masses of country children. The combine will give them a chance equal to that of the most highly favored of the present rich now under competition. The farmer works for all the people and should have full recompense. It is no more rational or fair to have him depend on what he can raise alone than it would be for the street sweeper to depend on what he can find, and in case of abundant crops it is as unfair to the masses of people as a drought is to the farmer when his crop fails entirely. You may scorn my earnestness and entreaty if you will, but society is now "between the devil and the deep sea," being invaded at one end by wealth, as trusts, monopolies and combines, and at the other end we find the worthy poor and the common people suffering in comparative silence in one group, disappointed party aspirants in another group, the willfully unemployed in another group, the vicious from disappointment in still another group, and wealth squeezing the blood out of all, or out of whoever it can, and the people sick at heart even unto desperation. Both of these ends are threatening and dangerous to society. The first needs directing and restraint, and it is business to direct kindly and thoughtfully; the second needs courage in the right direction, and it is business to encourage them kindly, thoughtfully and materially. When all have a home and a job, a property interest, if you please, in the combine, then all will work for its interest, and its interest will be the real interest of all. But we must do it ourselves; we cannot and need not expect existing combines to look out for us, it is not their intention, it is not in the scope for which they were organized, it is not their business to do it except forsooth as birds of prey. Yet the theory and practice of the combine is right, if it be made universal. In its application, it **must include us** in all its benefits. It is **also** business to prevent waste; a combine could and would utilize waste products, for example a sewage farm for stock, gardens, vineyards, etc. It is said that Birmingham England, now derives \$22,500 from its sewage farm. To be sure in the transigent state, the political government will have to assume great financial responsibility in the purchase of immense private interests (for in our effort to be fair with the homeless poor, we must not be unfair with

the rich, that would spoil everything). Let us look at this matter fairly. If a private individual gives money for property, he does not throw his money away, does he? No, for he has the property instead of the money paid. So with the industrial combine, the people in their corporate capacity, have the property when they buy the property, and the bonds will be paid as any other bonds are paid, no mistake about that, so the combine will then, as now, get its rights from the political government, and the people will get their title to their home from the political government. The combine will then, as now, be the property of the stockholders, the people. The political government does not, and cannot properly engage in productive business, per se. only through its authorized agent, the combine. The combine does all the business in the interest of the whole corporate people, and as the people are stockholders, they accordingly work for themselves and dividends naturally take the place of wages, for wages cannot apply when one works for himself; but only when one works for another and is the wage slave of a master.

No matter what our grievances are, or have been, we must not be so thoughtless as to chide away our friends by any rashness. We can be right and yet afford to be lenient and eminently just to the rich, or to any others who cannot see the end from the beginning as we do. But let us work for it, talk for it, vote for it, and vote for no one for any office who is not a pronounced advocate of an industrial combine of all the people. We do not ask the people to leave their party or their church or to join any new party or church. We have no time for party organization or disposition for party methods, they are only political, be they right or wrong, in political matters they must pledge themselves to putting labor and capital under one industrial management; humanity requires something to eat and the comforts and embellishment of a home, today and every day, and "Hope long deferred maketh the heart sick." The warfare our brothers (shall I say not that we) have been compelled to wage for bread against remorseless competition, demands that we take a hand now in our own interest and in the interest of the now needy victims of competition and snatch victory out of defeat, for to all intents and purposes, farmers are defeated now on this industrial battlefield, they are goners and are conscious of the fact. The farm you live on is not your own, or if you claim it, it is mortgaged; if not mortgaged, it is taxed; and if by misfortune you cannot pay your tax, then what? It's the studied business of the money power, of course, to see that you are not long able to pay. Look at it, as I have said, broad acres are not a home. The only thing about the farm that's really valuable is the home or house and its grounds, where you and your family live. You may hope that the broad acres will bring you and yours a living, but do you not see then that you really hold these acres for what they bring and that alone? This must prove to you that broad acres are not a home, as you don't keep a home for what it will sell for. If broad acres bring only money, what better are they to you than a gold mine in Alaska, or a pension, or a dividend from a combine; and if these acres do not bring you a living, and possibly do not pay the taxes, would it not be business sense in you to turn these surplus acres over to a reliable combine which is able to plow deep and cultivate and harvest so as to produce a harvest yield four times that which your skimming or scratching and slobbering (using farm parlance) yield you? Farmers do break up, and some well-meaning people say, "By a dispensation of Providence." Not so, Providence is kind,—it is by a dispensation of capitalists and seen in the Board of Trade, etc. I repeat, farmers are already defeated,—but put it to another test if you wish;

let the Grange, Farmers' Alliance, and Fruit Associations of all kinds unite against the railroads, or some of the great manufacturing combines, and speaking metaphorically, the combines will put their thumb to their nose and with a wiggle of their fingers, say, "You have no right that we are bound to respect." What are we going to do about it? Let me advise you to be frank, and to reverse the dispatch of Commodore Perry, after the battle on Lake Erie, and say, "We have met the enemy and we are theirs." Well what next! We have surely followed the forlorn hope "Competition" far enough—anyway, we ought to have stopped such miserable foolishness long ago; so while we sit and think, we will call to mind what honest Abe Lincoln said, that "Capital is the fruit of labor and could not exist if labor had not existed first," so we are downed and defeated by our own fruits. Stand off there and take a look at yourself!

Another thought: The act of signing the Declaration of Independence meant death if the signer was caught by the British, so the civil liberty they gave us is no cheap affair, is it? Shall we treat it as a toy? It is not only valuable to us because it cost so much of *their* blood, *their* valor and *their* earnest thought, but because it really is worth so much to *us*, and in thinking what could we do without it, it is highly pertinent to ask ourselves, "What shall we do under it?" What have we been doing?—working like Bunyan's man, with a muck-rake, sweating, starving, but so busy we did not look up and so did not see a crown our good angel held just above our heads, having this simple inscription, "*Do as you would be done by*," that is to say, combine with your brother, unite all industries. Do unto others as you would have them do to you. This, the fundamental rule of business life, it came down to us from the Author of light and heat and life and love. We cannot longer live alone, we must combine; my real business is unmistakably the interest of my brother, so why continue to work against each other? Take that crown and wear it. Our industrial self-interest is wrapped up in that bundle of self-government that our forefathers gave us in that immortal declaration.

Again, the inscription on the crown was, "*Do*." What are you and I here for, but to "*Do*?" A combine will not combine itself; there is something for us to "*Do*," and as sure as we "*Do*," a home, and a combine in the interest of that home, is ours, to have and enjoy.

Further, if a man be an infidel, or atheist, or Universalist, and determined to live so to the end of his life, or if he be the very personification of exclusive selfishness, in the sense of getting the greatest possible good out of life for himself alone, or if he believes he is here without his consent and proposes to throw off all responsibility on to the forces that brought him and compel them to maintain him while he stays, or if he thinks he is here only to help humanity in every way that he possibly can, and then die, as the beast dieth,—no Heaven, no hell—or if he believes in both and knows that he is going straight to the latter place, or if he believes that he was made to glorify God or that he is a free moral agent or in any other possible view of this life or the life beyond, the combine is not only the best for him, but the only rational system of the every-day life of business procedure. Again, take society, as it is, you can call it good, bad or indifferent; in any view of it, it is to your interest to see to it that every man, woman and child has a home with a government title to it, and a guaranteed employment in the support of that home as a logical and purely economical business measure. Never mind the fact that it has never been attempted before; no nation on earth has ever attained the high position of progress that we have at this very moment. Our civil-

ization is far beyond any example, so we must not be hindered because we have no precedent; we need no precedent. A precedent for us is impossible in the very nature of the case. As our past political history stands out an example to the civilized world, so our progress demands that we must take this next step, to which all the other steps have advanced to us, and made us fully competent to take.

Humanity obtains what they really want, and I assure you that as soon as the people in a republic realize what they want, they can take it. The people wanted self-government, they got it. This political liberty is now an instrument for the people to use in obtaining their industrial liberty. No man likes to have another reprove him, but may we not take a reproof from ourselves? Have we not been too extravagant, too liberal; we have given away valuable franchises, voted for infant industries, etc. and so on, and let our own babies suffer the loss; we have given with remarkable prodigality, now to find that we ourselves need the very things we have given away. Shall we continue to rob our families and give away about three-fourths of what we produce, just to please the capitalist, who is really injured rather than helped by our reckless folly? I grant you that competition has been and is so confusing that it is very difficult for me to know who and what to believe. Nobody cares for us or what becomes of us, as all are compelled to look out for themselves. We have not nor can we ever have any interests in common under competition. My interest is of necessity just opposite to your interest. You don't care for me and I don't care for you. I'll cheat you if I can, is back of every trade. This will all be reversed under combination. I help you that you may help me; we co-operate as industrial stockholders in the same combine, and the restless uncertainty of how to go or how to do to keep every man we meet from taking some advantage of us, will all be gone when your financial interest is my financial interest, both of us intent on helping the other, as the Christ way of helping ourselves. Don't think we are getting religious or are onto any religious scheme. Its common sense, and if you have got any you will accept the combine, and treat your brother fair that he may treat you fair.

Some change is inevitable. Even if competition continues it will be largely carried on between syndicates. The individual capitalist is not wealthy enough to even try to compete; the individual is lost in obscurity and must inevitably sink to a lower and still lower level. The people can only preserve their individual identity by adopting the people's combine. I want to be optimistic and will say that competition may have served a good and useful purpose in teaching the individual to reflect, like stoning the frogs may have taught the boys to throw straight, but somehow it dawned on the boys one day that it was barbarous business, and they quit it. Is it not quite as barbarous to stone defenseless men? and you will agree with me that industrial competition amounts to just that. The fun of yesterday is cruelty today. Paul says, "And the times of this ignorance, God winked at, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent." Acts 17: 30. Because a colored slave in America was better off than a free heathen in Africa, did not justify negro slavery in America. Because competition was the best that we knew yesterday, if it is barbarous today, quit it. The wisest, I do not venture to say the best men in America, have and are quitting it. If we supplant the competitive wage system by incorporating and then co-operating as interested stockholders living on our dividends in lieu of wages we must succeed superlatively as a people. Learn a lesson from Mr. Morgan's success. Why does he succeed? Not because he is the smartest and best man in the world, but because of the combine idea. He has simply placed and is placing every-

thing where one can manage it. That one controls iron mines and the mining, the railroads the rolling stock, the ocean steamers the construction plants, giving us a living example on a small scale of what the whole people can do when incorporated to do practically the same thing on a large scale and for themselves, and from the very beginning of production to the last act of distribution and consumption. Mark you well this fact, Mr. Morgan has succeeded because he has supplanted competition, in other words quit fighting, and like Grant said, "Let us have peace." I cheerfully admit that it is the peace of those and for those included in the Morgan combination, but it shows to me the superiority of corporation for peace: over competition for war.

It is said that the average American farmer produces 50 per cent. more now than the individual farmer of any other nation. Americans have learned to use machinery just a little, but not a tithe of what it can and will be under combination. The railroad can become the farmer's real friend and helper. The United States has about half of the mileage of the world. I mention this fact to indicate that we have a magnificent country, and our people are educated up to an ability to adopt self-interest, it not being any greater venture for us now than it was for our forefathers to adopt self-government.



What Effect will the Industrial Combine Have Upon Christian Civilization?

Civilization is the refinement of society. Society is a mixing with company in which each can express his wants as well as fears.

Observe the higher, the more advanced the civilization the more the refinement; that is the farther we are removed from savage ancestry, the more we can be trusted and the more we can trust each other, remember this fact.

God seemed to be so anxious that we his vice-gerents should get the correct conception of business that He sent a man (that some may be ready to admit that Christ was more than a man) to teach and show us how civilization should advance and conduct its business procedures, and society has so far accepted His teaching as to add Christian to civilization, and when we take one more little step this compound word will drop the hyphen and Christianization will become a welcome fact. Are you afraid of getting it too soon? Can you jeopardize business in any way by precipitating into it the "golden rule?" Can you suffer loss by it? Some say it will be a good thing after while or for posterity; if so, by what mode of reasoning can it be a bad thing now and for us?

Combination is the name of the highest expression of business order and precision. A trust and be trusted, is desirable also on account of its methods of specializing in its business procedures; it brings also a relief from the high pressure or rather the intensity of business pressure. The absolute confusion of the business future must result in collapse, unless the master hand of order does take the lever. We have gone on with the planless confusion of competition as far as we dare. We must substitute the industrial combine, it, to be sure, is purely a business matter, yet the incentive behind business, the spirit *of* business, the love *for* business has such a marked effect on character, that it is not only patriotic for us to teach our children that industry is honorable, but to make it our object to see that it is most agreeable to them. We should seek to make it healthful and desirable.

Christian civilization is a force in itself. There is a Christ behind it (remember this statement) and it has made progress all long down through the ages, but in spite of, rather than because of, our bad business methods, and it remains yet to be seen what it will do when men become men in fact and not like the brute, next below them in power; for the lion's share has come down to us as a synonym for greed. When once we do treat our brother man as having equal rights with us, because he too is a man, we will be on the right road to where we will do so because we are Christians, and then, the barriers being burned away, we can be consistent as such. It is absolutely impossible to be Christianlike now and continue this inhuman or brutish competitive system—our fighting with each other. The combine system being simply humane, if nothing more, would demand its adoption and practice by us as human beings, and

there is not a being made in the image of God that can be consistent and at the same time act like a brute by taking a brute's (or lion's) share, if you please, of what all alike produce. If we but only glance at the wide and deep chasm that Christian civilization is having to bridge over and build, through our competitive inconsistencies, before it can possibly proceed on its way, and then take a like glance at the level plane, fringed on either side by the jewels of consistency that the *Combine* offers,—with such a route as this opening up before Christian civilization, what can we not expect of its future? Then again, the very first business of the combine will be to furnish every one of its members a home as an economic measure, as a means of self-preservation. I would have you observe this fact, that while we are all proud of the progress that America has made, we are indebted for it to American homes, and not to competition in business or any political party or parties. Now in view of this fact, when all the people have homes, Christian civilization being the fruit of homes, will increase in direct proportion to the total number of the homes America makes, or causes to be made, for its people. There is not a thinker among us who does not see and believe that, from a business point of view alone, Christian civilization is a good thing. Then why not remove the obstruction to it, the nefarious competitive system, by combining to lend this civilization a helping hand?

We have very many excellent, perhaps ideal, homes now, not only among the rich, but among the poor, and all of them in spite of the cruel conduct of competitive business. Why not have more homes, why not give all not only a chance but the very best chance to build up a noble character? Why not have well-bred mothers, housed and cared for at least as well as if they were domestic animals—a home of their own and decent clothes? Then almost all women will be well-bred themselves and teach culture and refinement to their families. In our thought we cannot make a separation, yea, we unwittingly associate the name mother with home. Now, into such homes, through such homes and out into society from such homes go children, to ever love that home, that mother, that society, that superior rank of Christian civilization. It has been said that "Every child is justly entitled to be born well," and let me add, "and cultured on up into manhood and womanhood in homes of their own." Even a bird is entitled to have a home nest. One has asked very significantly, "Are ye not much better than they?" To make it still more apparent that humanity must necessarily have a home, let me observe that of all animals a babe is the most helpless, and would starve if its friends did not take care of it. So from this beginning, two forces are needful, one the directing, the other the restraining; and let me impress it upon you that neither of these forces can ever be relaxed or set aside without disastrous consequences to the child of any growth or age (for all are said to be only children of a larger growth). Let us see; first the infant needs to be directed by its family, and later by society, the larger family, on up through youth, manhood and old age, and it is as grossly incorrect for society to neglect this so-called man as it would have been for the family to have neglected the infant. I do not mean the feeble-minded. You who read these lines are too feeble in mind and body to stand up against a stronger man than you; you need directing and help now as much as you did in infancy. Again, the infant needs restraint quite as soon as it needs directing, and there can never come a period in its life when it does not need restraint. The infant, the youth, the adult may not think that he needs either directing or restraint, but the better judgment of the parent at the first and society later on knows that he does. We mention this to estab-

lish a fact that both the parents and society have a just *right* to supervise as well as an absolute duty of supervision.

Civil government, which is but crystalized society, decrees that one shall not injure another in person or property. Do we mean it? Hardly, I think; for if so, why do we permit one, because he may happen to be a stronger financier, to take away the home of his weaker brother, and that maybe according to law? Or to go a step farther, why should we permit the strong financier to monopolize a thousand homes and a thousand families to go without any? Has society any right, human or divine, to sneak out of responsibility and turn weak financiers over to the tender mercies of the strong or able financiers? Yet, that is just what we are doing, and then to make contempt more contemptible, we set up the cry of personal liberty, to divert the attention of the innocent victims, while we little better than steal away their real liberties and send them empty-handed out to be homeless wanderers. Some of these may possibly recuperate, but it largely depends on whether they have learned the tricks of the trade taught by the self-willed child of finance, who shamefully substitutes the right to ruin another for that God-given right to "do as he would be done by." In view of these opposing forces, I say that Christian civilization is indeed a force in itself, to have made or to make any advancement whatever. Ah, the financial giant needs to be restrained many times more than he would who makes a bad use of gigantic physical force and the industrial combine is a thousand times more potent at this time and place than jails, prisons, reform schools, etc., as good and indispensable as they are. The timid or incompetent financier needs, yea, and must have our combined protection and genuine sympathy from the cradle to the grave, and that not as an object of cold charity, but rather in such a way as to maintain his manhood and self-respect, which the Industrial Combine proposes to do, and thus guarantee to him the liberty of the Declaration of Independence, which meant then and means now an equal chance, and not to be deprived of his just rights by a stronger, but sustained as a real member of the family by a combine of, and in the real industrial interests of, all. Not the least among the advantages of the Industrial Combine is, that it promises time, a disposition and financial ability for culture, which is now denied to many in our boasted Christian civilization. Again, the home usually teaches the precepts of the Golden Rule to the family. The competitive system of business teaches the exact reverse to society. So what is the child to do as he meets these contradictions? What does he do? The common expression tells, by saying, that Christian teachings and customs are all right for women and children, but they are not practical in business. Which is right, our mothers or our business methods? It is heartless to let competitive cannibalism devour the finer sensibilities and culture of the home and thus neutralize in the second part of life all the accumulations of the first part, the man or woman having thus lived for naught, and goes to—they don't care where.

We know that society is not as virtuous as the home. The Industrial Combine will remove many, if not all, the incentives to vice, and virtue will not be for sale. (A word to the wise is sufficient on this point.) Change our business methods, so that all will be partakers of needful industrial productions; then the teachings of the home can and will be continued by society; yea, society can set an example to the home.

Young Women.

A little nonsense now and then is relished by the best of men, is an old rhyme and true enough, but this is not the time or place for nonsense. We have come to the parting of the way. We can go no longer without a definite plan of industrial procedure; planless, indefinite, aimless competition has had its day. We must hereafter work to plans and specifications, we must combine. The millions of the homeless, including many of us, meekly appeal to us to unite, to co-operate, and secure a home, not in charity, but homes of right and our very own, and all that a home can mean, and that not because we are rich and deserve it, or poor and need it, but because we are human and are humane enough to provide each that the other may have a home also.

So my wish is to have a heart-talk with the girls and women of America with reference to changing our motive in business from the old to a new center, not that we are on the ragged edge of national bankruptcy, but it is better illustrated by a young man who suddenly (perhaps) comes into possession of large property, who, instead of living at home with his mother or wife, chooses to live among the boys and brag. I will not be accused of flattery, at my age, if I say we have succeeded in our finances as a nation of people because of the influence of the good women of the nation, and about in the proportion that they have had influence. We have here in California very many noble, talented, thoughtful women, but the proportion of the women to the men is much less than in the Atlantic and Middle States. This perhaps explains why our men are more vacillating and up and down in business matters here than in the East, where the women are found in greater proportion, and probably having greater influence, and so steady the unsteady hearts of men in business affairs. We all know that its not an infrequent occurrence that after young men have been too fast in finances and come, or find that they are coming, to financial grief, they may then seek the counsel of mother or wife, and to the advantage of both. Though women do not wish to command, yet they have an intuition, a sixth sense, an inborn power to govern the man. As to the men of America, they are just now in the dizzy heights of a financial uncertainty, and at this crisis women are needed as never before. Do not be so superficial here as to chatter about female suffrage or a political office as a means to an end, but go deeper than that. Female suffrage will of course be a rational sequence of industrial equality, but it's only incidental and unimportant in comparison with the great and overshadowing attainment of the new era the new center of business power, "The Combine," actuated by self-interest of all, adult voting cannot be abridged by sex in industrial matters, and so will come without seeking for it at all, never fear. Can you think for a moment that if a railroad combine, for example, had women in it as stockholders that these women would not vote? To ask the question is but to answer it in the affirmative. Pardon me for this digression, but it seemed a good opportunity to dispose

of this question of voting. Political office or voting is but a sinecure in comparison with industrial voting and office.

I am conscious that every woman will stop to listen if there is a home in the subject under discussion, and if the how to get and keep it is within her reach she will start at once and pursue it to its happy realization: (May it not be that Jesus said "Many mansions" because it would have a real fascination for women?) To convince you that I am not offering you a myth, allow me to refer you to a fact upon which we can all rely. (I am speaking, mind you, of a home really of your very own, and in the sense of a house of walls and ceilings and doors, one that took labor to build, the very same kind of labor that makes or creates capital, a literal home, and not a figure of speech.) The fact referred to is, that the best financiers, made of the best thinkers along financial lines of thought, are combining now; so we may well take a lesson from such thinkers as these and profit by it, especially as their methods are found by investigation to correspond with and fit into the best financial authority, (for combination does fit into "Do as ye would be done by"). Commending them and their methods to us; and what these thinkers are really doing today we can do by consolidating or uniting our lesser thought (so to speak) until we grasp the overwhelmingly great idea of a people's business combine, or a combine of all the people. It must necessarily be that if any, you and I might be the very ones left out—and I want to be in, don't you? So then we must make the combine universal in its application as well as its personnel, it must take us all in. To be great a man or woman must be actuated by a great idea, no greater material idea can be had than the conception of giving every one a home that you may have one for yourself, and this is the practical grasp of the people's business combine; do you get the idea? I tarry thus with this idea that you may each and all get it, for it's the starting point, the center, a new world, yet as real as the ground upon which we walk, and the way to it as practical as any of the ordinary walks of life. The formation of the combine, like that of the formation of any corporation, is a small matter after it is once determined upon by the stockholders. So, if you please, we will discuss the business of the formation of this combine only a little further. The impression that we are financially unable to form a combine is so wide spread that many are disposed to dismiss it and drop back into the old rut from sheer despondency, though they know there is nothing to go back to. They may say, "I can see the need of it, but I can't see that it is practical," or possible. It's an axiom to say that the whole of anything is greater than any of its parts, do you see, if a part of the people can combine they all can?—that if self-interest caused a part to combine, a like self-interest may cause all to combine?—if the political government could authorize a small part of its people to do business, that it could authorize all of its people to do business,—or, in other words, if the government could grant papers of incorporation to a few, it could to the many—to all the people in their co-operate capacity. But suppose, for the sake of the illustration, that there really was some legal difficulty or technicality in the way of the will of the people; how long would it take for the people, in this people's government, to pass an enabling act or waive the letter of the law to conform to the spirit of the law? I refer to these things to clear up the minds of any that may be incredulous about there not be a practical way (for there is), but I am really far more concerned about the will than I am the way, so if you please I will use my best efforts to arouse the will of the people, knowing that, "Where there is a will there is a way," especially as both are right and practical. The question is, "Will we—

pay the price necessary to get it?" (that is, with the same spirit, in the same way any five men would form a corporation) if not yet, you must be brought up to this point, either by your own thought or to the acceptance of the opinion of others. I insist that if you are not you must awake to an emergency, requiring immediate active effort for yourself, your family, your friends, the homeless poor, the ever-restless rich, for the present sufferer, and for the future prospects of all the people, we must somehow be brought to see our rights and then to get them as a duty to posterity, so that the future may refer back to us of today, as we refer with fond affection to our fathers and mothers and for what they thought out for us to enjoy, they having put in active operation political forces that have been nurtured by some of our ancestors all along down to us, and now that we are in the path of progress and stand at the open gateway of this new field of industrial emergency, shall we hesitate to enter in and thus continue this progress and utilize its full blessing both here and now? General Sherman, on his march to the sea, near the close of the great rebellion, on the account of African slavery, as he looked at the desolated plantations, said, "War is hell," and as we look into this, that and the other field of industrial carnage, where battles have been fought and lost to the masses of the people, and the vanquished compelled to make the best terms of surrender they could, we, too may repeat the language of Sherman, and just as applicable to the competitive fight for bread. Do women like war? No; then they don't like competition, for competition is war and desolating war, but combination means quit fighting, and is emphatically peace, hence a beautiful field where women and children can live peaceably and amicably and at home and have an influence as never before. In speaking about war, I will bring to notice an interesting solution of the problem that the Industrial Combine will cause to be made about our soldiery. I have said elsewhere that battles are now fought, usually at long range, that a woman could be as useful a soldier as a man, that she could be as expert with a long range needle gun (as some guns are called) as she is with her cambric needle, that if war is resorted to here after at all, it will be waged entirely by machinery, and that there is no good reason why a woman could not run the machine quite as well as a man. But we do not wish to intimate nor have it understood that it is our intention to ask women to become soldiers, rather, that all soldiers should return in a way to the peaceful pursuits of life. But now, as soldiers are only needed to keep the peace, so that to the extent that soldiers are needed at all, a man and his wife may both be soldiers, or, in other words, every soldier may marry. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the expectation of universal peace should be brought about by the armament of nations, at once appalling in its destructive ability, and staggering to the mind of military men themselves. This, strangely enough, guarantees peace on an unexpected basis.

When commerce ceases as a private money-making occupation, and exists only in the transfer of supplies needed by the people in their corporate capacity, the Industrial Combine, to supply their workers with luxuries and products of tropical and other climates, no warring will be necessary to open up or maintain foreign markets to give a few men fat jobs, for the voluntary self-interest of nations will put war between them (on account of its real destructive ability) beyond a peradventure. Woman's education and training having been more along the avenues of peace, now that a great industrial revolution is to be attained through the arbitraments of peace instead of war, which will appeal to her conception of right, she will intuitively feel that being the most benefited and being con-

sulted now at every step of the way in industrial and political matters, she will not only have the greatest freedom to propose measures of political peace and industrial utility, but a sisterly or motherly interest known only to her in its intensity of feeling, not only for her own family, but in that vast compassion for the humiliated and unfortunate of our own national household as well as Cuba and the Philippine Islands, that the men so gushingly flew to deliver, while they at the same time trampled on the prostrate bodies of our own sons and daughters. Do you realize that education and training have incapacitated very many men for the finer sensibility of sympathy. Business, success at any cost, with all it means to them, has so entirely supplanted conscience, that they can look coldly on destitution and poverty without even one little twinge of conscious sympathy—sympathy, that priceless crown of morals, a sympathy that puts us in the place of the unfortunate, so that we may know how to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Aye, to the women of the nation, do we look for the sympathy that will transform present cruel so-called competitive business into considerations of justice and mercy. Man has been considered the head of the nation, hence ruling it boastingly, with brains alone, the heart being left out of the question. Now that industrial combination is the living issue, woman, taking her rightful place beside the man, and as the heart of the nation unites with the brain, better results will follow, and the nation will increase its helpfulness as a Christian nation. The nation needs the good offices of all—mother, sister and brother—now as never before; for, in the very midst of the greatest prosperity in its history, plenty of all, yet strangely in the control of a few, plenty for all, yet the few who control it are as ill at ease as the one who is out of a job, an unrest, like that of the fevered body of a child, has taken hold of the body politic, and needs a mother's hand in ministrations of love and thoughtfulness. The business man, lost in the overwhelming possibilities of private capitals in speculation, becomes dizzy and sick at heart from its very contemplation, and asks himself the questions: "What is all this for? To where will all this lead? When will be the end?" He needs the wife or the sister to sympathize with him and set him right quite as much as does the pauper. Hence, to the mothers, wives and sisters of the rich, more than to any other equal number of people in the nation, do we look for a righteous adjustment of the differences that must from necessity arise in the solution of this industrial problem. So any man, woman or child, taking a position of defiance against the rich, hinders, rather than helps, our cause. If we be a Christian nation, we must show ourselves Christians, so that our laws may be administered and our industrial procedures carried out in such a way as to reflect the image of Christ. That this is not now and never has been attempted stands to our national shame. Then, again, we are not at liberty to be unjust to the rich in our determination to be just to the poor and I am thankful that we do not need to be.

The facts are that women are compelled to remain single because of the poverty of men, who would make and gladly sustain a home for a wife if they could, and wives and mothers whose sons are thrown out of work by new inventions of machinery and the hundred and one other causes are compelled to become bread-winners, doing menial work at anything they can get to do. To them the work may not be so objectionable, but the real hardship is in the fact that women are thus thrust out to do work at such great disadvantages, and which they are so little prepared to do. As a fact, women have shown that they are as willing to work as men, but they feel that they should have an equal chance at equal work and

with equal respect and recompense. Have you tried to think out how this can be done? Let me here answer that, try as you will for any other solution, you will surely come back to Industrial Combine as not only the best but the only solution. All other methods of procedure are but temporary patchwork. Female suffrage could not do it alone. Besides personified capital will never permit women to vote. Why? Because now it can sport with either a great or small political party, as a child with a toy. Nothing short of an uprising of the people in their industrial capacity will do it—a general saying of each to the other, “I will if you will,” and I say again, nothing can arouse all the people but the word “home,” and what it means. A great uprising must have a great, worthy, far-reaching and positively conclusive object. Palliation, experimenting or going a little way, expecting to retreat, will all result in sickening failure. Nothing short of all moving together for a definite and overwhelmingly great and worthy object—nothing, in fact, less than an honest effort at absolute industrial combination, a monument, the justice and magnitude of which will appeal to the heart of seventy million people, will avail. Then we may expect, and not until then, to say, and to have it said of us, America is a Christian nation; its civilization radiates from a Christian center. To be an American citizen, then, like it was at one time said of the Romans, will be greater than to be a king, but from a far different reason. As a great movement requires a great motive, so, vice versa, a great motive requires a great movement. We recognize the fact that we are sons and daughters of great and illustrious fathers, who took their lives in their hands with the pen that signed the Declaration of Independence. Shall we in the light of their example be less heroic? Aye shall I say even cowardly unless we by unitedly opposing the reign of personified capital end it. Capitalists are brave men and women. So nothing will so recompense them for any loss real or imaginary as it may seem to them, as to surrender to foemen worthy of their steel, and who will treat them honorably. The proudest emotion that fills the soul of a Grand Army veteran is found in the fact that the Confederates were brave men; and the greatest comfort to the Confederates is found in the fact that, though defeated, it was done by the perseverance, heroic bravery and prestige of the soldier from the North. Today we have to consider a measure, the magnitude of which in most of its bearings, is far greater than the emancipation of four million slaves. So let our united conduct be as valiant and conclusive.

Our Southern sisters, though never having received a dollar for their slaves, agree now, with but few exceptions, that slavery was unjust; and now that it is all over, they feel relieved and are glad at heart that slavery is gone forever. Listen. It is not now proposed by the Industrial Combine to confiscate property as during a war; yet there is a conquering sentiment going forth from the heart of the American people that all men are really created equal, and that equality, if it means all that it ought must be extended to mean industrial equality as certainly as political, and a steady, firm, irresistible tramp, tramp, tramp, onward, to its certain achievement. As the decrees of peace are more positive than the decrees of war, so do these millions march with no uncertain tread.

Practically, in the Industrial Combine, every wealthy family will be left in the undisturbed possession of its own home. The other property will be appraised by the commission and bought and turned in part into new homes for the homeless, the productive property will be merged into the Industrial Combine. One point that should not be lost sight of by the wealthy women is, that had industrial equality been instituted in the beginning of our national his-

tory, and kept pace with political equality from that time until now, the wealth they now have would have been impossible; and the poverty that is now so apparent would also have been impossible. So if the present servants of the rich are willing to waive any claim on them for the difference in wages and dividends, that of right ought to have been paid, during these intervening years since the revolution, it would not be such a very unfair proposition for those now wealthy to waive some, or all of their rights, especially in view of the fact that the poor have suffered these years for the want of that difference, while the rich have enjoyed its possession without so much suffering. But, it is not proposed to take seeming unfair advantage of the helplessness of the rich—helplessness, did I say? Yes; but kindly, when once society realizes that it really has them completely in its power; for, when once the whole people declare their intention, the rich will become as entirely helpless as the homeless poor are now. But it must be remembered by the rich, that industrial equality, when carried to its last analysis, does not mean poverty for them at all, but rather competency for both themselves and the poor to enjoy.

If one is hungry he can eat or enjoy only so much food; if one is thinly clad, he can enjoy only so much clothing; and if one is homeless he can enjoy only one home—any more may be by our education and business training a welcome incumbrance but it is really an incumbrance, and a burden, not willingly borne by many of the wiser portion of the rich, but turned over to agents, stewards, servants, combines, etc., the wisdom of the rich thus seeking to get free from its care and responsibility as much as possible. If they will now allow themselves to think about it rightly, it would not only be a relief to them, but a Godsend, to have so responsible a steward as the Combine, authorized by the government to step in and take control of all their productive property, outside of their homes and personal belongings, as well as necessary income. Is there anything maliciously wrong about this view? You that read these lines know there is not. Yea, may it not even be, if better considered, an act of real kindness? If ambition is a glorious cheat, as some one has said, it is about all there is to being over-rich. But if one is ambitious, may it not be better to turn his ambition into a channel where it will work a real benefit instead of a hardship to some other person? As it is, and must necessarily continue to be, as long as competition exists, and to the extent that one gets more than a just and equal share, some other one must certainly have less than a just and equal share. Ambition, to be learned, works no hardship to another; ambition, to be a better workman, a better doctor, or a better lawyer, works no hardship to another; ambition, to be more polished in manners, helps rather than harms society, but it is practically impossible to be just under a training that teaches, "Get all you can from any one you can, justly or unjustly." The Combine, as a corporation, thus legally connected with and backed by the government, is in a situation to be just in its distributions but no individual or trust can possibly be so situated. Again, a guaranteed opportunity to work, both to the man and the woman, at an acceptable employment, having a living thereby guaranteed, will solve very many of the puzzles of life. For instance, a couple may then feel at liberty to marry. A home being guaranteed, the marriage of parties of equal financial rank, will usually be for love, and not for money, as is too frequently the case now, either by the one or the other, and which is usually followed by divorce. Another point: both are more likely to be virtuous. It has been said that every child is entitled to be well born. The mother will have ample time to attend to the proper training of her child,

which is not permissible with so very many at the present time. (Stop and think, how is it possible for a mother now to train her child?) A child cannot then be born into poverty, as in the very nature of the case, the Combine can have no paupers; and then there will be a more universal education. The mother will not, ever and anon, be looking into the dismal future, into which her children are going; the future will not be dismal, but bright with every star shining as now, only with an added luster, the black cloud of private finance will only show its silver lining when we look at it from the other side. Mark the fact, that paupers, as a class, are simply financial failures—that is all, as a rule, and may not be to blame at all. Many of them for a time have succeeded in business, but ninety-seven out of one hundred of them have finally failed, and only one in a million of the people have succeeded finally. It is monstrous! That a system will continue to exist for another day, simply for the enjoyment of one in a million of our fellow-beings, even if one in a million did really enjoy it (but they do not; they cannot; haven't the time). It is absolutely preposterous. Then, again, those seventy could have succeeded, probably, without any government at all. What about loyalty?

The Postmaster General at one time made the proposition that the nation take charge of the telegraph. So, of course, coming from this high authority, it is not only possible but expedient for the nation to do so, through a People's Combine, and in such a way as to continue individual ownership. And as I have said elsewhere, if the government could thus rightfully direct, not own, in one particular (the telegraph, for instance), it can surely direct, through a Combine, in every particular. Our American Republic was intended to develop this condition of affairs, which it has not yet done because it has up to this time tried to run industry as a political machine, and so has been diverted from it by the undue influence of selfishness, and now no method can be adopted to meet and overcome its influence, but the uprising of all the people in their own self-interest.

Equality of the sexes will change fashion to real culture. Men will seek wives, not because of their expensive dress or the money they may have but rather for their culture of body, mind and heart, and the women will marry the man and not his property.

At present one-half of the poor have neither time nor opportunity for culture, and the rich rely on their riches, thus substituting money for real culture. As a physician, let me say that perhaps four-fifths of the medical practice at present is among the women, and that not because they are the mothers of the race, but largely because they are unfit to be mothers, made so by the hundred and one requirements of society to which they must seemingly conform, instead of being as much at liberty as boys and men, in physical culture, thus letting nature have its course—yea, even needing broader opportunities for moral, mental and physical culture; as so much more depends on the mother, at least in the physical reproduction of the race. In the very face of these things, it is estimated that more women have died from the effect of the sweating system, in the city of New York alone in one month than there were men killed in the Spanish-American war. So, is it not better to set our women free than to go to war with the outside world, and that as a purely business proposition? Our reign of capital is and has been a veritable reign of terror, not only to the poor but to the rich, who are continually falling victims to its rapacity and the plunder of others who are richer. Such is the unrest of the women now and if the poor women knew how uneasy the rich are, and the rich only knew to what straights the poor are driven in mind and heart, as

well as in poverty and rags, a sympathy so pathetic would kindle between them that each and all would lay aside all animosity, all prejudice of rank, and unite in a common self-interest.

Let me give you an object lesson.

It was early in the month of December, but the day had been delightfully pleasant and grandfather had said, "A regular weather-breeder." Irene had got home from the office and was planning to do some necessary washing, Saturday, as it was,—"necessary," because she must attend church the next day and that she must be there an advertisement for the would-be most flourishing merchant of Fairfield as his well-paid bookkeeper. The fact was a business secret, however, that he must economize in the matter of her wages by reducing them to a bare subsistence, so as to the more successfully compete with his two rivals in business; which, taken together with the fact that Irene was the only bread-winner for a family of five, had so reduced the wardrobe that there was no longer a change all around. We are not blaming Smith, Jones, and Brown, for they were like three little bugs in a basket and only room for two, because society has no definite plan, no supervisory board to direct its business affairs. Competition demanded that they and their employees should not only tell lies, but act lies as they were all creatures of competition, and competition as we have explained in the introductory chapter is simply society acting without any definite business plan. So the less their success, the more the necessity of show, and Irene was painfully aware of it, and was trying to carry out her implied orders, failing in which she naturally expected to be discharged, and yet her little charge must eat and wear and have a house to live in; and in the midst of this extremity, oh, horrible, what would she do if she should be discharged? She was just saying to herself, "Oh, I do miss papa so much," for she could see that everything was narrowing in since he had laid down life's fight for bread, a long weary year ago, she little realizing that the strain now on her young shoulders had carried him prematurely to his grave, for there is a tension at which the brittle thread of *life* will snap. "Life's fitful fever over, he rests well." Irene had heard him say he was tired, and she wondered why, but she now bravely compelled herself to rush from the office to the kitchen and again to the sick chamber, of her lovely, but crushed mother, scarcely waiting for the hand laid in blessing on her head by her grandfather feeble with age.

When her piano went, her mother had said, "Never mind, dear, you will go over to Bessie's and play on her's whenever you want," but now she had hardly time to say her prayers, much less a pleasant half-hour in rapturous music on a borrowed piano. Yet it still came to her as a privilege that she was working for poor sick mother, dear old grandpa, her baby brother, and her jolly sister of ten, and so the weeks had come and gone, her many friends called less frequently, but she said, "It's because I have not returned their calls. In fact, I hardly had time to entertain them the last time they did call, so I can't blame them. Oh, if the days had been just a little longer so I could have been sociable and yet got my work done too. I can see how I am all to blame because I did not have more time,—maybe they will come again. If they were like Eugene, for he comes right into the kitchen and romps with the children and talks to grandpa and mother, so I can work right on."

The big flakes of snow had attracted the attention of her ten-year-old sister and baby brother, as she fondly called him, although he was five years old; and Irene looked out thoughtfully and watched them slowly coming down as if hesitating to fall in the black mud of the New England street, and was startled with a new

thought, "Oh, I wonder if I am to pass out of sight so like these beautiful snowflakes; next Thursday it will be just a year since we buried papa—"beautiful papa"; but I must be strong, I am strong—I know papa would want me to be brave—and as I look in instead of out I see I must be brave," and as she turned away from the window a bit of sunshine came from somewhere into her heart and she felt as if she must sing—and sing she did, that cheery bit of music as she had learned it in the C. E. Irene had gone bravely to one of her father's competitors and asked him for any work he had that she could do. He had made her his bookkeeper at a small salary as she thought—but the undertaker's bills must be settled and she had no choice but fell into line and the planless struggle for her began. Will people always compete one another out of love, out of light, out of life? The all Father had lifted the cloud and graciously let a little sunshine in, in spite of man's inhumanity to man. This competitor had been told that it was bad luck for him to employ a member of a family that had failed in business, for all such families, luck had repeatedly said, must be avoided, for it was a sure sign that whoever showed them a kindness would be sure to fail in business too—"everybody said so."

Irene had been so busy—her salary, her mother's kiss, her grandfather's "God bless the child," had kept up her courage during the year. Her girl companions of balmier days, for some reason, had failed her, but awkward Eugene of awkward age, came in at the kitchen door ever and anon. "The mud or snow makes no sort of difference to Eugene," she thought; "he has grown so tall, and handsome as he is tall; he is always talking about when he gets to be twenty-one. I know I sometimes think I can read him better than he can himself—that's him coming now; I know his walk. I'll surprise him by opening the door before he knocks." "Hello, washing as usual; thought I would come over and lend a hand," but Dot and Master Frank captured him and pulled him into mother's room with "Here is Eugene," and mother replied, "You need not have told me; I would have known it by the fuss you made, you must not be so noisy or Eugene will not come any more." This had a quieting effect for he was their chiefest joy. Washing done, supper over, a few of the articles must be ironed and hung about the kitchen stove to dry and Eugene found himself late in the evening in grandfather's chair behind the stove, and Irene ironing the things to hurry up their drying. He was not quite sure about the propriety of anything he did or said—if his legs were crossed, or his hands were in his pockets, he felt sure some other attitude would be better; or if he said, "Please," it was where it did not fit, and he would blush. But until tonight he had felt so perfectly at ease with Irene, for had she not always been his school-mate, and was it not understood that they were to marry when he was twenty-one? Yes, but he found himself blunderingly telling Irene what his mother had been telling him a day or so ago—that it was bad luck to be intimate with a family who had been rich and broken up; that his father had said it was a sure sign that they would break up too, and it made him more and more uneasy. "I told her I did not believe in signs, but she said, your family was awful nice and especially you, but there might be something in luck after all, and wouldn't I for the sake of Father's notion, better get acquainted with the banker's daughter? I asked her if Father suggested it, and she said he had, and that's what bothers me, for Father's notions are everything—everybody has to give up to his notions; he has got good notions, too; he was telling me the other day that competition was, after all, about all there is in life. I asked him what competition was, and he said it was doing any and everything you could do

legally, and then, if you saw something that you could not do legally you must go to work and make a law on purpose for it. Of course, anything that was legal was honest, no matter what it was, in a business way; and it was a remarkable fact that one could do almost anything honestly—in fact, it was almost impossible nowadays to do anything dishonest in business; that the real danger lay in being too honest and becoming bankrupt, like your Father did. Mother says he's getting so queer, but he knows all the ins and outs of the business. But really, there is one thing I can't see through, since mother told me all that—how it is that I could be a friend of yours and your family's when you were rich and did not need a friend, and now turn away from you when you are poor and do need a friend."

Her ironing was finally all done and she sat down too sad to cry or to speak. The mind is so quick and odd in its flights: the fact that she did not try to account for came to her—that, though her age was just about the same as Eugene's, yet she was a woman and he was but a child, yet she loved him too well to be unfair (genuine love is never unfair) and, swallowing a lump in her throat, she began slowly to say "Eugene, we are the same age, yet it's a fact that girls get to be women before boys get to be men, and then I have been made old very fast by the responsibility time has come that you are a man and I must talk to you as a man, of this last year. I have tried to seem childlike to you, but the time has come that you are a man and I must talk to you as a man, though it breaks my heart. As children we talked of the happy time when we would have no make-believe home, but a home of our very own, but we did not reckon on the inequality of wealth that, like a great tree, has fallen across our way. I am not the rich child that you promised to marry, but a pauper now, so it is not fair to you to hold you to the marriage contract, so I re—I must say it, though it chokes me—I release you from your contract." The nobleness of her generous soul could not hold her from trembling like a leaf in the wind. Eugene sat spellbound; he felt that he was neither boy nor man, but that a great injustice existed, he knew not how or where. His Father's displeasure on the one hand, and his love for Irene on the other, as he sat and thought out how his father could and as he believed would disinherit him if he persisted in his visits to see Irene, and if disinherited, what about a home for her? Two paupers stung him to desperation, yet Irene had just told him that he was a man. Yes, she is right, I am a man and will ever be a man, not only on my own account but for her. He arose and held out his hand as gracefully as a plumed knight, and looking straight into Irene's eyes said: Irene I am glad for your sake that you have released me. He went out from her presence hurriedly, an enigma to her; she had understood him until now, but what could he mean, he had gone, and were it not for the conscious knowledge that I treated him fairly, I could not endure life another moment; but I must be brave for mother, grandpa, Franky and Dot. Papa would want me to be brave, and I will.

A little planning, so easily done by society as a business combine, will assure every young pair a home and save such breaking hearts.

Listen: Brothels are filled with just such overworked, discouraged girls, and you who read these lines believe it; and you know, if you stop to think, that you are more or less responsible,—you dare not say that you cannot help it, not by the empty "poor Irene," but little better than mockery, or by offering insult to injury by inhumanly saying, "Such are the vagaries of love"—she and her millions of sisters are your sisters, too,—arouse, and as you hope for mercy at the bar of injured innocence and common justice

you must show yourself merciful, for whether you believe it or not there is a time coming when you will give all your wealth to hear, "Blessed are the merciful," mark you well, "for they shall obtain mercy." But I am not urging you to a sacrifice, or to do a doleful duty, but rather a most cordial invitation to accept a gladsome privilege, to give another a home, that you may have a home of your own not only in heaven, but in America. You are human and you must act human. The dog in the manger idea is for dogs; you, sir, are a man, you, madam, are a woman. I beseech you to act the part of a man and woman; let self-interest, your own self-interest, take the place of brutal selfishness, and we will have a real banquet instead of a funeral.

I cannot do you a better service than to give you an extract from G. K. Morris, D.D., LL. D.:

"The home is the fountain of life: of physical life, certainly. As physical life is at the foundation of all life, it is important that home conditions should be favorable to perfect health. This is far from being the case. Nearly all the physical ills known to the world have their origin in the home, growing out of the general ignorance of the laws of health. It is the mistakes and sins of the home in this respect that account for the fact that nearly half the children born into the world die early. It is equally certain that most of the chronic invalidism, the broken constitutions, the disordered nervous systems, by which humanity is cursed, have their origin in the home, the violation of the simple laws of health. It is in the home that modes of life are taught which give doctors so much to do, and that create the drug habit, by which the victims of hygienic ignorance further poison themselves and shorten their lives. It seems incredible, when one thinks of it, that, in the full glory of the light of the twentieth century, life is thus poisoned at its very source. If all parents were hygienically wise; if the diet of every home conformed to rule; if the life of every home were ordered in harmony with the laws of health, human life would be prolonged amazingly.

The home is the source not only of the physical life, but of all life. There the intellect is born as certainly as the body, and there its first training is received. How certain it is that it is in only rare instances that prenatal influences have been such as to secure to the new-comer its proper intellectual endowment. Its mental activities must forever depend upon its brain development, upon the quality and quantity of the gray matter. Who doubts that these are materially affected by conditions existing long anterior to birth?

What is not then done can never be as well accomplished, and what is not done aright in those unnoted years that are now in our thought can never be fully righted afterward, no matter how admirable later opportunities may be. The stupidity, the dullness of innumerable boys and girls must be conceded to be due to their early home life. Had the conditions there been such as it is possible to secure for children yet to be born, the dull mind would have been bright, the slow brain active, the stupid scholar intelligent.

The need thus indicated lies at foundation of our call for new interest in the training of those who are to become responsible for the homes of tomorrow. In a word, we may say that as are the homes of the land, in all respects, so are the people."

But do you that read these lines of this scholarly man not see in them a cause for aggravation, to tantalizingly show this home to millions of real or prospective mothers, who know that under existing business conditions they will forever be deprived of a home, and that by the continuance of these very same forces that have and utterly and at heart and seek to hide away in a borrowed shelter, to feast only on the visions of a home so learnedly portrayed.

Ah, it is little less than mockery to speak of the home at all, and not show these mothers a practical and available way to get it. It is a burning disgrace to show a prospective mother, an American citizen, mark you, a pile of straw and bid her go, as we tacitly are doing, and that in the very face of the fact that plenty abounds everywhere and we know it and she knows it; but such is the brutality of avarice, begotten by competitive business, and that, combination will surely cure, and it is the only thing that can cure.

There is no use of mincing matters, now that the trusts and combines show us a definite and legal way. We become traitors to American Christian civilization to longer refuse to travel in it.

If every woman is entitled to be married at marriageable age, then every married woman is entitled to a home; if not on her own account then on account of her family.

Put exclusion of emigration as exclusive as you will (the more exclusion the better, until we take better care of our own people.) but let no child be born under the stars and stripes outside of its very own home. Then and not until then will it be possible to teach and enforce the laws of health and hygiene that the learned doctor refers to.

Anything short of the Industrial Combine of all the people is mere child's play. There is no middle ground. It is either the people's industrial combine, or continued competition of combinations, with no home, no job of work, no definite plan. Industrial chaos reigns. No one trying to help going-going-gone and in the sight of the home.

Life is the supreme mystery of this world! God will not let us, His legislators, cheapen life, and then go unpunished. Many of us do not pretend to be fair, we are lenient with the murderer, but forget the murdered. Slaughter by willful neglect is criminal. I could not be so unfortunate if you were really powerless.

Women of America you hold the keys of our destiny! We talk of man's inhumanity to man as though it meant the masculine gender? I would have you women espouse the cause of humanity and act well your part now and to materialize at the next election. Speak kindly, modestly, but firmly, definitely. If American citizens are to be trained in the home they must have a home to be trained in. If the American home is to be all that it should be to society, society, this larger family must be an example. If society is to an example of what a well regulated family should be, it must combine its resources, and we then will have the People's Industrial Combine in practical operation.



What Effect will the Industrial Combine Have Upon the Soldier and Sailor?

I am far from believing in the disarmament of our nation. There is a better and safer way. I believe that a strong army and navy is the best guarantee of peace, so I would make them doubly strong by including them as part and parcel of the combine, as parties in interest. A soldier or sailor may have, and to be at his best should have a home, and a wife and family if he choose—can he? Let us see. No foreign nation is financially interested to any great extent in this Western continent (that is North and South America), so we are not at all likely to meet any of them in war, and, further, it should be our policy as a business proposition to only maintain the peace, and yet be suitably prepared for war or to repel an invasion. A war of conquest is not any more to be thought of. So now that each and every industrial interest must be under one management or merged into one combine, which is authorized by the government, to receive all and pay all, and as peace is far more economical than war, how can we most surely maintain peace with the least cost to the combine is then to be a question for all. Probably to give our young men a military education, at least soldiers must have a home with all its perquisites and blessings, and be regularly employed by the combine in some of its departments of industry, yet may in turn, and as often as may be enjoyable to them, to be detailed for field duty, for after all soldiers and sailors are men. Let there be half a million of these citizen-soldiers if need be, drilled up to the highest efficiency, living at home, but in touch with camp, ready to go where and when needed, just like any soldier volunteers do now. Such soldiers will be the better for themselves and for us in that they will be almost self-supporting; better for us in that they will have their own personal homes and families to fight for as well as their country; better for us and them in that they will represent better morals, better culture and refinement; better for us and themselves in that, all things else being equal, married men are better physically and mentally than single men, either as soldiers, sailors or citizens. What is true of the army is true also of the navy. Our *time* should and hereafter must be considered; and if so, but very little of the soldier's time has been spent in fighting and from present indications much less of it will be spent in the future in fighting or actual service. It cannot be so uniquely and implicitly carried out so that the sailor can be at home as much of his time or as frequently perhaps, but he must have a home to come to if he wants it, even if he takes a year in a tour of the world. A home to look to, to write to, to love and return to, will make him a better, happier sailor, and who has a better right to a home than our soldiers and sailors, when in our own ports especially? The sailor in port can:

have a home and employment near by just as the soldiers in camp. The strength of the country lies in the strength of the home. We sing of "the land of the free and the home of the brave" and yet our braves most of them have no home; nor can they, as it is at present, ever have any. Our people will be better civilians, better sailors, better soldiers, and better men, when they have something as tangible as a home and family to fight for, and why military men have not thought out some plan to take the torpor and dull stupidity out of army life in camp long ago, is a mystery to me; its the bane of the soldier's life. I have tried it, and believe citizen soldiers living in a home of their own will take the stupor out of soldiering. Again, the military bearing and drill is conducive to health, and may and will be included in the school exercises.



Working Men.

The working-man is the central figure of the nation, and he is and has been a necessity since the decree went forth, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." (Gen. 3:19). And he, instead of gold, must be the basis, the standard of measurement in our book of human right as against the "rights of property." But it is not my intention to arouse resentment against the rich, for it is shown in that chapter that the capitalist is like the laboring man, a victim of vicious circumstances, and each requiring the sympathy of the other. By establishing industrial equality, both will be benefited, hence both should. Yea, the time has come when both must lay aside any and all resentment and work diligently, faithfully and patiently, if need be, for the mutual benefit of all. We are not likely to get our just rights until each can see what rights we are entitled to. The measures proposed to acquire industrial equality may at first seem radical, but with as little prejudice as possible, please go with me step by step, as dispassionately as may be, and see if we cannot evolve not only a better condition, but a perfect solution of the strained relations between labor and capital. Property in private hands, together with wages, has been and is, we will assume, the bone of contention. Labor claiming that as a producer it is justly entitled to it, capitalists claiming in the polished phrase, "sacred rights of property," meaning to them all of it if they can get it; that property per se is their's, and that labor is only entitled to wages, and that "wages" carries with it the added meaning of "only when the laborer works does he deserve wages;" so an unavoidable clashing of private interests arises, and labor yields, fatally for herself, the field of private property to capital, but makes a stand on wages, and her warfare has ever since been on the defensive, while that of capital has been aggressive, pressing labor down to the very lowest wage possible, without forcing labor to strike. Sometimes, however, it inadvertently goes too far and labor does strike. Years ago capital would have suffered from these strikes, as well as labor, but not so much or not at all now. Sometimes capitalists even now precipitate a strike on purpose, as a good financial measure, but it is not within the hope of this book to discuss *exhaustively* the irrepressible conflict between labor and capital, so I will conclude it by agreeing with all sides in this particular, that capital has been, is now, and always will be, as matters now are going, a safe winner in this very unequal race? Also, it is safe to predict that capital will always be belligerent when struck and labor will always continue to squirm under pressure, and yet go on yielding, blindly trusting and hoping that relief will come, somehow, sometime, if it only gets the best wages it can by joining a union and striking once in a while. It is wages, wages, wages, with them, to little heeding that if Paul must be paid higher wages, Peter or some other laborer must pay it all. If one in a thousand of the laboring class gets property, that's enough for all to hope they too will work up to it in time, and so be able to desert their brethren for a time at least.

At this point and in this letter we will dismiss the capitalist and address ourselves entirely to labor. Now let me ask confidentially,

as one that has been there, is not ours a most hopeless task? Again, may there not be something fundamentally wrong in our conception of what is really our rights, the rights of labor? Wages when paid grudgingly by a private party, who, from a business point of view, is intent on getting the most labor for the least money, certainly does not loom up, even in the far distant future, as a promising, ideal friend to us or our families. Some advocate profit-sharing.

So let us suppose your employer *should* say to you, "I see that it is not fair for you to do all the work and me to get the pay, so I will go to work also and we will all produce the most goods we can and divide the productions equally among us from this time on and not only work for the common interests, but plan for the common interest. By all working, each will be interested in doing his best work and thinking the best thoughts and thus increasing the productions of the plant to its highest capacity." Mark you hear that this amounts to substituting dividends for wages. (Profit-sharing has this and many good points, but has the fatal defect of including only one class, and being voluntary cannot carry with it the force of law and is entirely too narrow, too limited in its application, in fact no plan or ism have been sufficiently broad). Of course this is only a supposition, but do you see any real loss you will sustain in such a deal? Is not equal sharing better for you than wages? (I seek to get you away from the necessity of wages). Even in small plant, which must necessarily work at an immense disadvantage. The larger the plant, the greater the advantages, of course, and the returns, if in dividends, will be proportionately greater until we get up to the greatest possible plant, the industrial combine, which by having full and complete control, can make the most of what we all produce, and also having control of transportation, can supply us with necessary exchanges to the very greatest advantage of all concerned, yet the best of it is seen in the fact that we all will be interested and there will be an incentive, an inducement, to do our best. We want labor to see plainly all its own present disadvantages under the iron heel of wages, and as clearly its advantages in industrial equality, and stockholders, dividends, and so become convinced of having lived, and that it is now living, far below its own privileges, and thus compelling their families to do wage or menial labor now, and leaving to them an inheritance of wage or menial labor. Whilst you know and I know that your families (saying nothing about yourselves) are as worthy and with an equal chance will show themselves as wise and competent as others. So, I pray you, have the courage of your convictions and personally resolve, "As for me, I will from this time on show more manly dignity in dealing with men and stand on my rights."

There is envy frequently, when there ought to be aspiration, between the salary-earning class who represent the capitalist, and wage class. The salary class understand that if investments are lost or only little profitable, their reputation suffers and their salary likewise. Can we blame them? Certainly not. They, like the wage earner, are dependent upon their job and are liable to tumble to the bottom, and in any view of this whole planless industrial problem, there is universal cause for sympathy, and absolutely no cause for hatred, and wisdom demands that we get together, combine, and by observing, simply obeying the well-known precepts of the Golden Rule, can work out an industrial plan of business procedure, which it will be to the self-interest of the salary class, the capitalist class, the professional class, the wage class, to adopt, and from the good business management of this industrial combine, establish a business

with sure profits and enough to keep all in material abundance and give character a chance, give character attention, give character time that is now devoted to making some money, and then more money, and then all money, if there is any beyond we take our character with us, but we certainly leave our money. Character is everything in time and eternity. "But we have no time," you say. And money-making schemes of necessity? or expediency? demand that we sacrifice character on the altar to the god money and so we soon have no love for character and but little character to love. Oh, let us co-operate in industry and thus settle the vexed labor problem so beautifully that we each will know where at, how much and when and what we are to work at, so as to do our fair share of the Nation's work (the combine can and will have a plan for all these things) for which we have already received the dividends. This can all be done by the provisions of incorporation practically the same as the Standard Oil corporation or railroad corporation and in no other way. I want you to see that moral suasion can't do it, religion is not intended to do it, social democracy can't do it. Nothing will do it but business, and financial and business interests can and will. It amounts to a personal presence that is competent to move the world.

Very much depends, especially at the present, on diplomacy. To be sure, men may differ honestly with us and yet by rare good humor on our part, we may also gain their consent to move in a matter, even if we do not get them to aid in the movement. So, then it is not one of the least of our objects to disarm all opposition and as we like to have men give us credit for what good there is in us, so we must hasten to give them credit for what good we find in them. And suppose a man does swear. Reproof, to be heeded, must be skilfully given. Suppose a man does get angry,—it is said that a soft answer turneth away wrath. Suppose he has stolen,—it can do no good to call him a thief. Suppose he does not always tell the truth, especially when his supposed interests are at stake; (competitive business is polite lying, but lying all the same;) it is certainly best not to call him a liar bluntly. You cannot gain his friendship or reformation either, in that way. Let me tell you we have too much at stake in this matter to be offensive to others, in word or manner. (We must absolutely quit being exclusive.) To tell others plainly what we think of them sometimes might be a great satisfaction, but it will not pay us to do it.

So much has been said by clever writers in favor of government ownership of this, that, and the other industrial utility, that it might be tiresome to many of my readers to go over that ground minutely; so we will notice here only a few points. The people's business combine is akin to government ownership, but is entirely industrial and not political. We can produce enough in our shops, factories and fields, by co-operation, if exchanged by the good offices of the industrial combine with other shops, factories, and fields, to raise our average bill of fare to luxury, and supply our wardrobe in elegance. Here is a bundle of facts:

All federations and corporations must be united in one corporation. Government ownership is but a painted picture of the American desire. Corporation is the reality and to be materialized in the people's industrial combine. Self-government is a completed entity and stands a finished work. Industry is tributary to, but is separate and apart from, political government, and must needs stand on its own pedestal. America is a republic, the antithesis of monarchy, and so must needs have its own system of industry to harmonize with republicanism. Yet government ownership has seemed to be the

only way for the masses of the people to compete with the combines. It has not occurred to them to ask themselves the question, Why compete at all? We don't have to compete, we will take them all into our combine. Government ownership agitation, however, has served a good purpose, it has caused the masses to think, and the education has been preparatory and useful to us, and much of it is now available. Yet its advocates feel that there is a kind of uncertainty and hesitation about it that robs it of its enthusiasm. They feel intuitively that it is coupled with a loss, which loss is also hazy and obscure. It somehow lacks positiveness, the whole-soul freedom of "Being sure you are right, and then go ahead." What is about government ownership that has so attracted the masses? I answer only just one thing, and that is co-operation. This is attractive, deserveably so, yea, absolutely necessary to industrial existence as well as progress, but is government ownership necessary to co-operation? No, not at all. Can we have this vital necessity, co-operation, and yet not have government ownership? Yes, certainly, and without the shadow of a doubt. So, in giving up our attachment for government ownership, we do not give up this gem of Christian civilization, but we take with us this, its only attractive feature. I say these things kindly that I may reason you away from government ownership to a better way. Let us expose to the light the hidden evils that caused you to hesitate in having an undivided affection for government ownership. It is found in the antipathy of the human soul to collectivism, but more on collectivism in another place.

Now let us take a look from another standpoint. Competition, as disastrous as it has proved to 97 out of 100 of those engaged in business pursuits, is already giving place to the much more sensible method called combination, that is sensible for the stockholders, and notwithstanding the fact that you and I are not in it as parties in interest, we are more vitally concerned than any others. If a billion dollar combine is now a reality, it would not require much of a stretch of imagination to see in the immediate future a two, four, six or multi-billion combine, and its methods of conducting business would probably be the same then as now. A single combine will soon buy up all the railroads and thus end competition in that direction (which is practically ended today).

Railroads now make money handling freight and passengers, mail, express, etc. Mr. Blank is now in the lead. Pierpont Morgan is too honest,—no squeamishness now, mind you. The regular business tariffs of the roads will be put up to "all the traffic will bear" and still they do not pay but barely 100 per cent on the dollar. Mr. Blank says, "I must do better than that," and he strikes. Every wheel stops. "What madness!" you say. Just wait a month and you will see that there is at least method in his madness. He has arranged to have an agent at every railroad station in the land to buy up everything in sight, when the price gets low enough. When all is bought at his price, every engine comes to life again, and productions are distributed and sold at his price. Don't say its illegal. Don't say that it cannot be done—it can and will be, if just such men as you and I do not take steps immediately to prevent it. You say, "Ah, if it comes to that—if it comes to such assumption of power as that, why of course the administration must take control." Aye, but do you not see that such a far-seeing man would see to it in advance that everything was fixed in Washington?—that a majority in Congress, and the Court, would say "We cannot do anything, (and neither can they, if these combinations are acting according to law), the sacred rights of property etc., Mr. Blank is in the regular line of industrial business and we cannot interfere with him."

This brings me to consider the attitude of nearly all our writers and speakers. They seem to have reached the climax when they tell us to vote some party ticket, just as though capital could not in the future, as it has in the past, down any political party and nullify any act of Congress, if need be, or anticipate any decision of the Courts, thus setting at naught any desire of the people expressed in that way. Do I hear you ask, "Is there no way to prevent it?" Capital surely has control of the government, so far as it is a party in interest, but there is a remedy.

It is not reform. We have been trying that for 125 years with the results as seen in our present predicament, that a power is dictating to our present administration in its various departments. What we really do want is active Christian common sense applied to industrial matters, as our fathers did to political matters a century and a quarter ago. This is a Christian nation: wince at the statement if you will, yet it remains true. Equality in the Declaration of Independence includes or anticipates industrial equality. Enemies have been trying these years to limit it by saying, parrot-like, that it only means political equality,—that and that only, and they have succeeded in making the people believe it until the combines have taught the lesson aright. Was not the Declaration rather more industrial than political in its final anticipations and ultimate application? When our forefathers signed the Declaration based on "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," this meant industrially of course, it could not have meant anything less. But straightway, young America took a soar with the American Eagle, screaming "Political equality," as though that was all, neither men nor bird realizing that industrial equality was many times more Christian and far-reaching than political equality, which served but as introduction to industrial equality.

As we are parties most in interest, let us be most discreet and use all the diplomacy and skill we can possibly bring to bear to win men over to our views, for it will require all the people; we cannot afford to offend any. Permit me to disabuse the mind of any that may look forward to a time when the laboring men as a class will have the power. As I said to the farmer, such a time will never come, my brother, and it would certainly be unfortunate if it did, for it would not settle anything. The probabilities are also that it would only amount to exchanging one form of tyranny for another. I know no reason why laboring men are not as likely to become tyrants as capitalists, who are simply laboring men with money. No, we must go deeper than any class rule—deeper than labor unions or trusts. From the very nature of things material prosperity must either obliterate classes or include all of them. Our political nation is under one management, so labor and capital must be under one management.

Our ship of State is not drifting against rocks, but, as we believe, sailing toward a deeper channel, not only for working men but for all. With a united effort relief will come as surely and speedily as the morning sun.

We must appropriate and use all that is beneficial to us. Capital has been efficient, in about the proportion we observe, of its consolidation and concentration and combination. So follow the lesson of this fact and it opens into the consolidation of all capital in one common whole with all the people as stockholders in a combine, increasing productions by co-operation many fold and distributing the productions of farm and factory at half the present labor and with impartial fairness to all.

Take a lesson of profit to all of us in studying the facts that

business corporations go straight ahead. Why not? They have a right to do so. The State has authorized them, legalized them, they are constitutional; they need not and do not pay much attention to anti-trust legislation, for Congress can have no power on the one hand or the trades' unions on the other. Clearly associated capital has been, and is, a necessity to industrial progress, and everybody knows it; and the People's Industrial Combine does not propose to somehow put the oak back into the acorn by any anti-movement whatever, but rather to move forward, to take the majesty of this oak and use it for the whole people. Look at it fairly and cannot you see that corporations have been and are now, indispensable to our personal comfort and happiness? Then we must not cut off the nose to spite the face. Ask an anti-trust legislator what frightens him, and he exclaims, "The size, the very bigness. What we intended by granting incorporation papers as only for a tail to our political government, wags the dog. See? Some of us are seasick from their expressions of excessive cleverness, and I am bent on destroying trusts, even if it does destroy prosperity." He talks foolish, but that is about all some politicians know about industry—well, they are not in the field of industry, and so do not need to know. Now, how is it possible that political legislation will forever seem to think and try to take to itself the credit that belongs to industry alone? Cannot we all see the line of demarcation between politics and industry, and that the domain of politics ends practically at incorporation. And industry, being thus dismissed and tacitly told to go it alone, as a boy at twenty-one, so industry as distinctly began there and carries forward independent of politics and on its own account. Every item of industrial business, and the credit of industrial progress belongs to industry, and is wrought out by industry, and "my" party has no more to do with it than a last year's bird nest. Why, sir, it is the genius of political governmental law, statute law, to wait until the individual man or corporation breaks a law, and then, and not till then, does political government, the courts, apply or come to the relief of the people in their individual or corporate capacity. So we must see that a well-behaved citizen or a well-behaved corporation cannot legally be molested. Then we conclude the great suffering of the people from the unequal distribution of wealth is not amenable to political interference at all, and we must get this fact clearly before we can address ourselves to where and to what we are to look: for we can not enter the forum of industry and be successful leaning on political government. Politics did all it could for us when it opened the gate by granting articles of incorporation, and bade us enter the fields of industry on our own account. Now it stands as referee or umpire to see that we have fair play—that is all. Now that we can look no longer to politics or political parties in their anti-legislation, but entirely to industry for relief, we do well to look around us and gather up all we have learned from experience. What has corporation done for its stockholders? What can it do? What lessons does it teach? And in answer to the question, "What can it do for us?" I show what it has done for its stockholders, and you begin to comprehend what it can do for you and me. Our eyes rest upon the consolidation of some of the great industries of the country, thus ending competition and righteously destroying this great false god—competition, which is a direct and indirect cause of our industrial war, and combination, setting up the true God, the "do as you would be done by." I freely acknowledge its Golden Rule extends only to its own stockholders. The co-operation of the human in the stead of the competition of the brute; the

combination of men in their courteous manliness, instead of struggling in fight to the death. Aye, the trust principle, the Combine idea, is sustaining our industry and is the source of our progress.

Corporation not only points the way, but leads the way; it not only points and leads the way, but it lifts up the helpless little ones of any age, and carries them by its united and co-operative strength into homes, and homes of plenty, too. Such are the possibilities of co-operative industry when unhindered by meddlesome politics. If it was necessary and wisdom for our fathers to separate Church and State, so now their sons must separate politics and industry, and for the good of both.

We accept it for granted that industry has accomplished wonders, notwithstanding the hindrances of meddlesome politics, and we hear the President in his message say that "it would be both unwise and unnecessary at this time to attempt to reconstruct our financial system, which has been the growth of a century." He might have gone on and said "growth in spite of meddlesome politics." I am not here to say that our financial system is perfect or imperfect, but I do say that it belongs to and is the business of industry to reconstruct it, and not to politics; and when industry takes her own business into her own hands as Combines do, and teach, it can evolve a perfect financial system just adapted to industry, regardless of whether it pleases some party or not. Meddlesome politics is and has been the active cause and reason of the continued estrangement between, and distrust of, labor and capital. When labor gets alone, it will discover that capital is its friend—aye, bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. Not only its friend, but its fruit, to be eaten, to be utilized for its happiness in every way, and for everybody. Politics are all right in their place and will be all the more respected if they keep their place. They have no more right to enter a corporation than a corporation has to enter politics. They must part company at the door of the Secretary of State.

So I have no apology for appearing as advocate in the defense of such a corporation. Strangely enough it is already loved by its persecutors. I love it for what is really is—a gift from the government—for where it originated, and what it is competent to do and become. Because it has suffered in the house of its friends is not a just reason for our continued animosity.

We have a right, legally, morally, and justly, to now accept and appropriate it, and the hunger, cold and nakedness of millions of our fellow-citizens appeal to us for immediate relief, so we cannot afford to stand shivering and haggle over the price as we have it now in our own pockets, or at our own disposal, but we as men must pay it at once and thus relieve the needy. Can you entertain the thought that our forefathers powwowed over expediency? No; they signed the Declaration because it was right, and fought out and thought out the minutiae afterwards. So must we here and now declare for the People's Industrial Combine—it is absolutely all that is left us, and that as our sacred right—and rely upon the rare good sense of our people to work out the minutiae as we come to them in their order, much as our fathers did. Nothing will suffice but a general uprising of all the people, unhampered by, and independent of, all political parties, all religious denominations, all secret societies—in a word, all classes of men and women, intent on only one object, and that industrial equality, here and now. Think of it; can we afford to let the petty jealousy of a political party, or a religious difference of opinion, or some secret society drive away one single individual from being a hearty comrade in this movement so immediately vital to rich and to poor, high and low, learned

and unlearned? Rather, let all hands be beckoning hands to be united in the common good. I trust no one will make the mistake of thinking that the People's Industrial Combine is a kin, even a forty-second cousin, of an equal division of private property as now considered. If private property were divided equally today, some would be paupers tomorrow and others millionaires in a few days. A few here and there may not yet fully understand what the People's Industrial Combine really does imply. When understood clearly its reasonableness will not only be apparent, but all will enlist in its support; so, in a word, it means a home for all and work for all.

Not only would it be illegal to sell real property as a home or an interest in the Combine, in which and on which our families depend, but there will be no buyers when all have both.

It will take a little time to provide a home for all—about as long, probably, as it took us to get ready to fight Spain.

Real power to govern comes to men, through co-operation, through persuasion, mind you, and not through fighting. Men in their dealings with other men are learning to get away from the old instinct of their animal nature to fight, and so, for a man to fight nowadays is but to fail, so we argue that the man who fights capitalists is not up to date. Then, my good friends, you who want the government to own and operate the trusts, etc., are right in your desires to put a speedy end to competition, but wrong in some methods of procedure and pugilistic course taken. The greatest effort of a human life is to maintain, through time and eternity, its individuality. Rich men, with this object in view, are not to blame for it, so let us quit blaming them. The individual we know is liable now to be obscured by deep poverty. This we must and do seek to remedy, not only for ourselves, but also must help others to remedy by all of us developing the individual; i. e., bringing up the manhood, the womanhood, to the dignity of becoming men and women of affairs. There may be some who will say that becoming a stockholder in a combine is too much for such a man to expect, but by entrusting them with responsibilities, tools, that they can use in maintaining their own individual identity is by no means too much, so that they become more and more a significant factor in society. To put the individuality on honor and trust him brings out the very best that is in him. So we urge that the individual must be sustained in every way in his desire to own property as an individual rather than collectively as a city, a State, or a Nation, so that he be not lost in the obscurity of municipal, State or national wealth, just as fatally as he is now in the obscurity of poverty, and as there can be no way for the political government to own except to own as a whole government collectively. This is the intuitive objection to government ownership and will forever defeat it, for it does not preserve the continued identification of the individuality at all, and we all contend that everything must bend to the perpetuation, to the special identification and continued personality of the individual; the augmentation of the individual, the man, the woman. Again, the government cannot rationally own—that is, in the sense that an individuality owns; it is inanimate impersonal; it only assumes to control—a method of control.

Political government reserves for itself the prerogative of assuming control of any and all property for a time limit, mark you, usually pending some court decision or occasionally as a military necessity; hence, temporary in character, while the ownership of property must, in the very nature of things, be considered permanent in character, and so the government cannot own in fee simple at all, it being a political organism only, so is incompetent to do more than temporarily control any property. This of itself sets

government ownership aside as well as State and municipal, when the real intent of possession is properly considered, it is inconsistent then for government to proceed farther than to prepare a way, a corporation. What, then, is the logical way for the individual to proceed, now that it is clear that he alone is competent to own property; also, to still own and come into possession of more of it, especially where the property is of such a character that it cannot be tied up in separate bundles, as a railroad. The government has already provided a way, and at this very point corporation comes in, and for the very purpose of enabling the individual to buy and as emphatically to continue this individual ownership.

This rational way is tried and true and is already here, and is legalized by the government and we need no other; the proposition is so clear and so fair that it ought to be accepted at once as final. This answers the question most definitely then, How can the individual be put in peaceable possession of all property?" by saying legally, "Let the government's plan be carried out, which is not ownership but an incorporation, composed of each and every individual of the nation." This enables the individual in his corporate capacity to go onto the market as a buyer to buy from any seller who will voluntarily sell. Observe that force (that some have proposed) does not enter the mind of either buyer or seller; force is absolutely foreign to a business transaction. Now, coupled with this perfect freedom of procedure, there must be a sufficient inducement to buy and a like sufficient inducement to sell, or else no trade can possibly be made. Freedom of business procedure is the genius of a republic. All thought of driving a law-abiding American citizen or the citizen in his corporate capacity as a trust must be at once and forever abandoned and our undivided attention given to inducements; granted that incorporation enables you and I as individuals to buy; so if we can offer present owners a sufficient inducement to sell, a sale is immediate and its benefits are immediate, and the people thus immediately come into possession of all property (except, of course, that which is now considered public property, public lands, school, court, State houses, etc.), and will thus be in absolute and peaceable and permanent control of all industrial business matters.

Observe this fact, that we can appeal to political government have to wait a long time (as some may say, there is no other way) only when a law of that government is actually broken, so we may for a rich man or a combine of rich men to break a law; we may think they break the law, now that they have power and have it legally; they are on their good behavior. Some of us may not think so, but the courts seem to think so and that settles it. And they, in the very nature of things, are not so foolish as to lay themselves liable to prosecution when they can and do have all they need without breaking any law. Some others, well-meaning men, vaguely expect that a time will come when the government can legally compel private owners to sell. I refer to this point again to say that this really amounts to a contradiction of terms, as a law-abiding individual or trust cannot be compelled to sell at any price now, and it is therefore useless to suppose that they ever will; so no hope of possession comes from that direction. Some others as vaguely hope that the government can take possession of trusts, etc., by the law of eminent domain, but this cannot now and never can be made to apply, for it applies only where private property is needed for public use, so private property for private use or public property for other public use, a transfer can only be accomplished by the free and voluntary consent of all the parties in interest; neither can the individual or existing corporation be legislated out of, or government legislate itself into, any property whatever.

Again, no governmental body can justly or constitutionally buy property for itself with the intention of entering into competition against one of its own citizens. Mark this fact; this is the one great reason why the government is about selling its transports. That citizen, being part of the government, is thus made to fight himself to compete against himself. For example: A city is taxed to pay for one of a dozen lines of street railroad; the other eleven lines are thus compelled to pay taxes to buy a line to compete against themselves, and thus they pay their own funeral expenses, which can be neither logical, fair or legal. It amounts to government's disloyalty to its citizen, which is worse, far worse, than a citizen's disloyalty to his government. So, partial ownership is not only illogical, but its tendency is to make a bad matter of competition more and more complicated and worse by causing vexatious delays when we really want immediate relief, and as it is impossible to be fair with all the railroad owners as citizens by buying out only one railroad, so it will continue to be unfair until all the railroads are bought; so we must buy them simultaneously to be fair to each and all; and then, farther, we cannot be perfectly fair to all the people until all the property affected by all the railroads are bought out. This is the People's Industrial Combine.

Thoughtfully, sir, you that advocate municipal or government ownership, "Confusion more confounded" is the real thitherward you are tending. Does it not look the darker and the more dismal the farther you get away from the individual? I know you are as anxious as I am to do just the right thing and at the right time. Then I beg of you to put yourself in harmony with, and work with, Christian civilization, which so emphasizes the individual, and the only way of settling this great labor problem that continues the individual in its plannings is "the Combine Idea." With this as a basis of industrial procedure, the individual can work out his highest possible destiny. I cannot state it too positively that government ownership can never be inaugurated in a republic; it might do for a monarchy. Co-operative management naturally carries with it individual ownership, for unless we own how can we as individuals co-operate? We cannot do it all. It is folly to suppose that the individual will ever surrender his right to own property as an individual. With this co-operation attached to corporation, and with the inducement of co-operation, and the antipathy that the masses have against becoming like a herd of cattle under government ownership, entirely removed, the whole people can be united with their own industrial government as they are now trusted with their own political government. The mode of operations is presented in other chapters.

Let me say right here that industrial equality of and for the sexes extend to and include the equality of industrial privileges—that is, a right to vote, hold offices, etc., industrially. Further than that I need make no comparison and so make no political claims for her, but I believe this right has always been implied though never carried into effect. But woman is now, if never before, needed in industrial matters, and that with full power to act in building up ideal homes; for from the very natural formation of Christian society, she, rather than man, will be a necessary element in a home. It is difficult for us to conceive of a home without a woman, so we are proud to be able to say that every woman under industrial equality can have a home of her own to keep forever. "Work for all" implies that all should do their just part: That is fair, is it not? Of course the aged, the children, the invalid and the mother will be wholly or in part wards of the Combine, as they or their friends may desire. Professional men will be in as great demand, probably, and

their relations to society will be but little disturbed and their maintenance will be as easily adjusted as that of an army surgeon or chaplain. In fact, any man necessary to society will gladly be supported just as society must (if not one way it does another) support all now. And in one sense all will work for themselves more emphatically than now. Some may comprehend it better to look at it as universal, practical, co-operation. Of course, those who already have good homes will be expected to keep them. For those who have not good homes, such homes must be built and provided, something like the government now provides homesteads, and just as legally ample dividends will enable all to supply themselves with food, clothing, etc., as they individually may relish or fancy. In a word, the people of a republic can also be trusted in their industrial procedures. This is just what the People's Industrial Combine propose and it is the natural sequence of self-government and equally as rational.

There is no question but that it may be arranged to supply all men and women through their dividends. Observe that if there is any preference or partiality practiced, as between soldier and citizen, it might well be in favor of the citizen, for he alone produces in return, or works, if you please, for what he gets, and the soldier does not—at least not at present. But there is no possible question as to the soldier's rights, for they have been long established, and when we get accustomed to it, there will be no question of like propriety for the citizen. A more perfect system, especially adapted to the proper and equitable distribution of productions, and fitting into the practical Business Combine will be necessary, no doubt for both soldier and citizen. I use these illustrations as merely representative. Practically, men and women will be enabled to buy all they need, and rations will not be thought of.

Christian civilization has only advanced in so far as it has obeyed and lived up to the idea of its industrial equality. Think of it! How much interest could Christ take in political equality as it touches the world's heart? Some interest certainly. He said, "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," etc.—all that it is worth, when properly weighed; but how much more does industrial equality touch the Christ in precept and example! We hear Him say, "Methinks these ought you to have done and not to have left the other undone." Society must seek to bring out the best that is in its members. Wages compel a man to work, and so usually he cares but little how much or how badly it is performed. A just share of the productions, a dividend, induces him and puts him on his best behavior. This coupled with a home for all and with every one a stockholder in a combine of all the industrial interests of the Nation, will settle the case of industrial warfare, and strikes, with their ruinous effects, will disappear. Wages will be transformed into dividends sufficient for the needs of the individual, the family and society. The standard of comfort will be raised. That share of wealth which has gone to useless extravagance is saved or distributed alike among all the people, and the dangerous operations of the trust are controlled! Every man, woman and child is put in a better position to enjoy the good things of life. Their capacity for enjoyment is enlarged, and a possible field of thought opened up and placed within their reach, adding mental stimulus as a veritable nourishing element in the production of bodily health. The object to work as many hours as are profitable produce as much as possible during that time, and use all productions to promote the happiness of all the people. This is combination versus competition. Fewer hours at productive labor will not doubt be necessary—say, one-half working six hours in the forenoon and the other half six hours in

the afternoon, in the same mills and factories. But the nation is not so much overworked as underfed, poorly clothed and discouraged by unrest, uneasiness, or by positive or prospective poverty. Want of heart is even greater than the want of food and clothing—individuality ignored, little or nothing to live for, a cold, chilly dread of the future—ah, men and women would work their nails to the quick and almost any number of hours when having an encouraging prospect of a home and continued plenty. Let me beseech again and again every laboring man to use his utmost tact and talent to win other men, and under no circumstances, by a cross word or unkind act, chide away a single friend. If any cannot yet comprehend the People's Industrial Combine, we must add line upon line and precept upon precept, until it is clear and plain to all. It is simple if you yourself do not shroud it in mystery; it is neither a fairy story, nor yet a dream or a myth. You know, my friend, there is nothing in the whole field of industry more real than a combine, a trust, a monopoly. You have all felt them; you feel them every day. And it is also very real that you are left out of them, and so are "out and injured" by them. (There is a way that you can be included.) Neither is it a something of the past, or of the dim distant future, when men get to be saints, or women get to be angels, but now, like taking hold of the hand that you expect to marry, and in a very real sense call it your hand. Not a "looking backward" to it, "might have been," nor a looking forward to when "life's fitful fever over," but now, in the ever-living, immediate present, a material fact, an industrial machine, as real as a combined harvester in the wheat fields of Dakota or California, dutifully doing the bidding of a man, while children watch and play "make believe," looking forward to a time when they can hold the lever, and the young men and maidens more seriously and yet as joyously planning for a time, when they, without a doubtful shadow of either wealth or the want of it, to blight or cast a shadow over their young lives, will have a snug home of their very own. Married men and women already in homes of their own, debating the ever-debatable and enjoyable question with the unmarried—"in which is there the most happiness, in the hopeful pursuit of or in the joyful possession?" The older men and women in the gloaming, not figuratively, but are really under their own vine and fig tree, and becoming like the ripening fruit around and above them. All are housed from youth to old age, thanks to a little definite planning, actuated by a humane motive, prefigured by the trusts, the combines and to be made real by the industrial monopoly by all the people.

To change the point of view, it is not enough that our sympathies are with the under boy in a fight; such sympathy is like "sweetness lost on the desert air." We may wring our hands in helpless agony, as we are and have been doing—simply wringing idle hands—but the fight goes on; it is not enough, by a little illy directed interference, to take the upper boy by the leg and yank him around until the under boy gets him down, and we say fair play, but the fight goes on until our so-called sympathy gives them another turn, and still the fight goes on, ad infinitum. What is needed is a firm grip of two hands holding each, and with a good healthy shake, dropping each into his own backyard. Unions do not like to be humiliated; why should they insist on humiliating, bringing capitalists to their knees. I come to you with a better way.

Fighting? Why fighting is not what you and I are in the world for at all. True, we are born animals, but the original designer designed that we should develop into men, and when this beautiful fact once dawns upon us, there is no longer any excuse for us to

continue the brutal instinct to fight, to compete, to grab, to hold, to snarl and snap at each other, and when remonstrated with, to whine like the cur or roar like a lion, saying there is no other way; when existing combines on every hand throw back the audacious falsehood into the very teeth of the wiseacre, no matter who he is, or more kindly into the heart of the despondent, bidding "them to take heart again." But a knowing that does not take shape in doing is mere rubbish. Remember that under competition a business smash-up comes about every ten years. Are you my fellow-laborers ready for the closing down of factory or work-shop or mortgage?

We are, and of a right ought to be, the architects of our own fortunes and not be dependent upon our employers for food and bread for our families. To do anything as men, we must co-operate. Combination is the genius of co-operation, with it we can solve the problem of the age, the problem that puzzles all, from the President down. We must act, yet action involves responsibility; assuming responsibility requires bravery. Men who are forever asking what will so and so say, have any of the Pharisees (great men) believed on him, and narrowly estimating the personal honor or disgrace, are cowards. Shall manly men, "who duty to their country know," shrink back into quietude, and let our good ship of State drift, moral laggards—seeing the case to be clear, the opportunity apparent. But "Oh, horrors, the perversity of the people!" the hopelessness of doing anything! Ah, dreamy confusion, too lazy and indolent to think the matter through, the mind is in a jumble, good Lord, good devil, a hazy ability to say, "I told you so," seems to be the height of their ambition.

The best test of an idea is to put it into practice. We need not wallow in the details of an industrial combine, for enough is already known, for us to move its adoption; it's a definite plan and tried ideal, and with a little common sense in its adaption to the whole people, will make it even more efficient than it is proving to be to a few of the people. Look at the elements in the fight, Federation and Corporation, squarely.

A union, we remind you, is not in the domain of industry at all, hence incompetent, but it is rather in the domains of politics or government, if classed at all, and as we have shown government is perfected already, unions are not only irrelevant as against capital and combines, but not needed to correct any error in the government, for no error exists. It is a mistake to think that industry can gain through a political party. To prove to you that a union is not strictly in the domain of industry, but rather of politics, take a case. A man belongs to the union, and also as a loyal American citizen may, to the State Militia, also; his union goes on a strike and some one becomes disorderly. The Militia is called out. The strike is finally ended. The union meets to expel the soldier. He is not allowed to work at his trade anywhere in the United States. Why? Literally because he was a soldier, a loyal citizen. Do you see where we put ourselves when we join the union? But until the fight can be declared off, unionism as an effort to take our own part, which we must do, in this confusion, this wreck of business chaos that now exists, and called competition, and from which we are struggling out into the light, unions needs to be, yea, must be maintained, until we can form into line on the equitable basis of the combine. As long as a do exist and prevent them now; so they will and do sink down wage-payer and wage-earner exists, the fight will go on. Both combine into one and stop it, but a book could be written on these points.

I was a master workman in the Assembly of the Knights of Labor, the first assembly in the city of Bloomington, Ill., was formed

in my parlors, and from that day to this I have been studying the industrial question from the highest standpoint, that of Christian civilization, so if you please do not compare me to a "half year captain" or a pretender. My heart has bled in sympathy for the families of the toiling millions of my fellow workmen, for whom no one seemed to care, only to nag them and to lead them astray to devour them, to eat them up as so much bread. I love them too well to deceive them or suffer them to be deceived, if I can help it, and it would be cruel to them indeed, to point out the fallacy, the utter inability and possible disloyalty of unions, if I could not offer them a sure an fully competent deliverer in the person of the "People's Industrial Combine." Its not sympathy, pity charity, we need, its what we are entitled to and a chance. If any further elucidation, is needed, I want to refer the matter back to the hearts and minds of union men themselves, and ask them kindly, "What do you expect to accomplish in the end?" We know that the ultimate end of, the power of a union is a strike, and what is a strike? It is not entitled to the dignity of fighting the "devil with fire," but rather only just painting things red. Be serious now. Is it not only a fight for a chance to work for wages? Silly men. It's bad enough to labor overmuch without fighting for a chance to labor, don't you think so? What cure does a union propose if they succeed? Nothing. We come around like a rat in the same hole we went in at—confusion, worse confused if we mean destruction to the combines. They can and will go right on, and your union has just the reverse effect on them can't you see; and your effort proves to be a boomerang and always will, and strongly enough, unions are the only way under competition. If you are opposed to capitalists, the end of the union is the strike, and the strike doubles the price of coal, etc., hence helps the capitalist. If you are bent on injuring someone, isn't it poor policy to dance yourself and pay the fiddler too, or like the rich lady that hung herself to make her relations sorry, with the result that they whistled at her funeral, and divided her property among them. Yea, the facts are when you strike you hit only your friends.

We cannot avoid mentioning another point. It is granted that unions by striking can finally raise the scale of wages. The strike causes immense loss and suffering to the innocent community as well as to themselves by the interruption of industry, etc. Can we expect the public to forever suffer and permit this game of tit for tat. One capitalist has irreverently said, "Let the public be damned." One version of a strike is, let the public be damnd. We must be more reverent, for the public is King in a republic. I do not mention these things to nag you, but to kindly point out the hopelessness of fighting, for if you should somehow kill capital, the public can, if aroused to its duty, handle both unions and employers as a child does a toy. I would not take away one little ray of hope, however, without giving a brighter ray in its place.

Do you say there is no other way? Aye, but there is. We have been sleeping on our rights. Wake up! The truth is, that in the fields of industry all productions belong to us, do you hear it? We produce it, and from this time forward let us simply keep what is our own, that's all. Let us act with industrial common sense, and "be just, before we are generous." Quit working for a thing and giving it away. Resume control of our own business, and live on the future proceeds. Live on the high level of self-interest to ourselves, by ourselves, and for ourselves; and the only legal thing that the general government can do or need do for us, is to authorize us to act legally for ourselves as a corporation. "The People's Industrial Business Combine of America." The combine age is coming; it is

as inevitable as fate, and the thing for us to do, in fact, the only thing we can do is to direct it, utilize it, and let us all say with Patrick Henry, who saw self-government in the war of the Revolution, "Let it come; I repeat it, let it come." That the triumph of self-interest in this industrial war may be and become the rule of action. I not only appeal to you now in the interests of wives and children, but I challenge you to choose now the dignity of an American citizen and stand for your rights as such. Quit begging for wages, low or high, and a union will become as absolutely extinct as a slave pen.



What Effect will the Industrial Combine Have Upon Manual Labor?

So commonplace, and matter of fact, is the subject of manual labor, that I would not introduce it, were it not that some idle people rich, poor, or neither, may oppose the industrial combine for no other reason than that they will be expected to do their part. I am looking to two facts which will set the minds of the timid at rest; one is found in the spirit of fairness that is in the human heart; its there as a fact, but it may in many cases be required to be brought out, and rubbed up a bit, to give it a recognition, a lustre, a beautiful appearance, some that have been loafers rich or poor, idle from a force of habit, may not only need to see that it is fair, as a proposition, but the second fact will clear up their vision, namely its revealed agreeableness. Listen, only about half of the able-bodied healthy people, work now at any productive labor. If all worked, this of itself would divide the work in the middle. Then machinery may be made to do twice as much (I put it mildly) as it is doing now, so you see that instead of taking you by the collar and making you clean sewers, or "rub, dub, tub," its really not only taking you, but your brother, your sister, that is now compelled to do the hard, the menial, the disagreeable, bring him or her three-fourths of the way up to where you are. That's not so bad. But you are now, in spite of yourself, working a little. You may call it exercise, and feel disgraced if any should call it labor. Now if the exercise you already take, can be turned by very wise planning into your just share of the combine's work, I ask you why should you object to the combine; may not all work thus become agreeable diversion, not only to you but to those who now do it. A young woman away from home without money has been looking for a letter for several days; finally the letter comes. She opens it in great glee, but, alas! no money,—and she is dismayed and exclaims, "Nothing!" Aye, love and affection eclipsed for the moment. She feels as if she must cry. As her mind takes an active flight all around, it finally gets back to the unread letter, and she reads. When she has read it, and her father's name at the bottom, not one word about money, and as her mind runs over the expressions of his loving heart, she cannot restrain her tears. After awhile she reads it again, and away down below her father's name, she sees this postscript. "In my love for you, my daughter, I almost forgot to say that I sent you a hundred dollars in gold by Wells-Fargo; call at their office and get it." So we are liable to pass, oh so very lightly, over love, affection, culture, refinement, education, home and friends, all possibilities of co-operation and combination and light down on this one point, Manual Labor. Like blue glasses, if we wear them they make everything around us blue. Now we should do one of two things, or perhaps both,—either take off the glasses, so that we may see things properly and more clearly, or cultivate a love for blue. Blue glasses says, among a multitude of disagreeable and unfair things, "Let them work, I have to, and they are no better than I am; I just want the time to come when everybody will have to work." Why bless you, my dear man or woman, please never say that again, if you mean

by it that to work is to make them feel as ugly as it seems to you.

I believe that the industrial combine will instill into your life as a stockholder, a sweeter spirit and a relish for agreeable work. Yet, I am not going to tell you that work is as good as play, always and without exception, as you know it is not, and I have been trying to tell you the truth in a spirit of candor in all these letters, and this last postscript note shall be as true as any. But if one work up hill, the very same thing may be called by quite another name, if you will get on the upper side of it, above it. The banter, "I will work if you will," helps both the boys a whole lot.

I think Genesis and geology agree, so I will refer to Genesis and read: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground." That's nothing, you say, I know that verse by heart. Yes, and you see a man with tangled beard and long, unkempt hair and clean little furrows behind drops of perspiration that drop off his heavy eyebrows. He looks up only long enough to nod at your kindly salutation, "Working, I see." You pass on, cogitating, I'll never work if I can help it. I don't wonder at your decision, or blame you in the least. God never intended that man to abuse himself; other loafers like you may have imposed upon him. But observe, God did not make man for the sake of having somebody to punish. The verse we quoted above is Genesis 3:19; a long time (perhaps) after verse 2:15, which is as beautiful as it is significant, "And the Lord took the man"—lifted him lovingly in His great arms (metaphorically speaking) or led him by His hand, or lured him by the music of His kindly voice. There is a mildness about it all quite foreign to "took the man by the nape of the neck and dragged him along and shoved him into the garden and shut the gate, with a "There now, you go to work or starve." That's competition's way. Then this beautiful verse goes on—"put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep." Set him down, set him down gently in just the right place, in just the right way, at just the right time, as if to say cordially, "If there is anything more I can do for you Adam, I will be glad to do it." Under these circumstances, I can see Adam going to work with the inspiration of a self-interested stockholder in the concern, loosening the dirt around the potatoes and the beans, irrigating the alfalfa, tying up the geraniums here and the roses there, "Hello, Adam, at work?" "Y-e-s, N-o; yes, I guess that's what you call it; it's,—well, these terms are a bit confusing. Some call it play, some exercise, some call it a 'constitutional,' some work, some labor, some manual labor; they're all the same to me. I like to do it." "Why do you like to do it, Adam?" "I somehow think I ought to do it; it seems that everything tells me I ought to do it. Why, don't you see that's what I was put here for to dress and keep this garden. God kindly made me in His own image. I am the embodiment of His best thoughts (Gen. 1:26), and He gave me dominion over all the earth; it seems as though it is my proper business to see after things. And would it not seem a little odd if, in view of these facts, I should tell God I didn't like to work, or play, which ever you call it?" So it did seem that Adam just liked to (every man, saint or sinner, intuitively feels that he has some necessary part in productive labor), and yet, God had not done as much for Adam as He has for you and I. Listen, God liked Adam because he took such willing care of the garden, for hear Him say (Gen. 2:18), "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him." And pray, what is a help meet? Plainly someone to help him dress and keep the garden, so they could then hoe two rows of potatoes, or both work on one row, or train up two rose bushes or both work on one. "Hello, Adam, how are you getting along by this time?" "First rate, first rate."

The Lord knew just what I needed when He gave me this help meet" (looking lovingly at his wife). "Oh, excuse me, I thought you were alone." "Excuse me, I should have introduced Eve to you. You see it never occurred to me that I needed any help meet about dressing the garden; why I am delighted to do all that; I would rather do that than be idle. But you know I keep the garden as well as to dress it, and keeping the garden all by myself and nobody to talk to and tell how good the Lord God had made everything for me,— I hardly know what to call the feeling that came over me, loneliness, I guess,—I just wanted to tell somebody. The Lord knew just how to be kind, and so He made me a companion, a wo-man (another man). I had enough monkeys and serpents, but I did need another man, made in the image of God (Gen. 1:26). So keeping the garden now is quite as pleasant as dressing it." "Well, Mr. and Mrs. Adam, I am right glad you have a garden to keep."

Please observe, in passing, that God's original order was to locate the family (a home if you please), and we would do well to carry it out, for it's both natural and right that we should get as nearly as possible to this original God-given idea. Adam and Eve were no doubt happy in this pristine simplicity and God seemed to have exhausted His resources in planning all things for their enjoyment; and mark you, manual labor was one, if not the principal thing to be enjoyed. (Gen. 2:17.) "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." A death was the punishment, not a word said about labor, besides dead men don't work. (Gen. 3:17.) "In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life," not a word said about labor, besides we have seen that Adam and Eve liked to work; no sorrow attached to work. (Gen. 3:10.) "For dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return." Death. Men live to a ripe old age and die and return to dust; but not a word about labor. Manual labor in itself is no more objectionable than eating, sleeping, talking, etc., and quite as necessary, so where have we to look to the stigma attached to it? Just open your eyes now and see, for it's to be seen in each one doing his or her fair share, this is a principle of eternal justice and, if by combining, we can get back to it and correct it, in God's name let us combine and do it at once, and take away every menial or false idea, and look at labor in its true light, as a real blessing of God. Why, bless you, we like to hear people talk, equalize matters, and the menial stigma now attached to labor will go like the darkness when the gas is turned on, and then and not till but we do not think it just fair that one should do all the talking; we like to see people eat, but we don't think it fair for one to do all the eating; we like to have people sleep, but we don't think it fair for one to do all the sleeping; we also like to see people work, but we don't think it fair for one to do all the working. If we have somehow got wrong in any of these matters, let us not only be willing to do, but really do anything that's necessary to be done, to then, will the great war between labor and capital end.

That labor and play may become interchangeable terms, co-operation in production and distribution is necessary and will reduce the time now devoted to each to a minimum heretofore unthought of. Let the mind give itself to the solution of this matter and ways and means will all work harmoniously together with a consistency none will want to hinder. There must a time speedily come when there will be no servile labor in our free country. Labor will be far more abundant and productive as free labor—slave labor degraded free labor in the South, so now wage labor degrades; voluntary labor with dividends, then self-interest puts every man at his very best.

Remedy.

There is a world of happiness (and happiness is what we are after; we started after it in the letter to the boys and girls and are still in its pursuit) in knowing that we are loved. The bitterest sensation of poverty is when we realize the fact that we are poor and underfoot because society, the larger family, does not love us, they would not treat us so meanly, we know they don't need to treat as they do. They have abundance now and own the machinery of production with which they could if they loved us, make room for us in the home. We are only objects of their charity now, and we resent it; we know it is the very antithesis of love, for who wants the object of his love to die? and on the other hand who wants the object of his charity to live? The combine does not propose to build alms houses or charitable institutions, but it does propose to build homes, evidences of love. The combine does not propose to give homes to the homeless in charity, but in love. A man is a fellow-man therefore I love him as an equal and not as an inferior and so take him up by side as dependent upon him as he is upon me and then and not till then can we both feel that we are men, with this conception we see that each and every individual must own as an individual their own home and productive property in the support or maintenance of that home. This fact is fundamental. It is doing, actually doing, as we would be done by.

Much has been well said by well meaning speakers and writers in favor of a more general ownership. And we kindly recognize their efforts and so do not need to oppose any ism. But rather seek to unite than to scatter, to persuade than to antagonize. But seriously, have we not agitated this vital matter as simply as an abstract idea, and that quite long enough? It has been all right to talk about it but talking about and doing are so different. Let us get down to business and so accomplish it, do it. There could never have been an incorporated company in existence if men had only agitated and blandly said incorporation is probably a good thing. You all remember the fable of the lark and the farmer. Business men did really incorporate and at a definite time and in a definite way for a definite purpose and started a force that moves the world. I find no fault with agitators. It has been and is good so far as it has gone but friend, don't you see that it must be carried beyond agitation and crystalized into law (for we propose to be law abiding). Our government is built on a vast and comprehensive plan, that definite plan is called self-government. A republic. Our industry to be operative at all must be built on an equally vast plan and be just as definite and comprehensive. A plan. A corporation. Observe a corporation is a definite, tangible method of business procedure, a link connecting existing government to industry, two distinct ideas. A republic is a definite tangible method of government. A republic means that the people govern as individuals, (not collectively), a corporation to be applicable and properly related to a republic must mean the people own as individuals, as citizens, (not collectively), and as literally

individual in one case as in the other, so as to harmonize with and fit into a republic which already exists. A corporation does not destroy individual ownership, but it does enable individuals to go on into the open market and buy railroads, steamship lines, coal mines, farms, factories, etc., yea, every item and all of every item of property under the flag, and this is the proposition. This is what corporation enables the individual in his corporate capacity to do, so please do not longer be incredulous, or forever sleep upon your rights as an American citizen, but wake up.

It ought not to require a labored effort to prove to you that there is a state of unrest among us as a people, that must be remedied; an anxiety to get forward and out of this swamp of competition that must be heeded. I have tried on the different pages of this book, to show the cause of this unrest and such is my unflinching optimism that I see in this very unrest profound encouragement of a speedy and radical cure for this competition in business which has obstructed advancement in the industrial world all along down through the ages, as monarchy has the political world. That there does come a time, a transition state, when one condition changes into its antithesis or opposite, like the ebb and flow of the tide, is undeniable, so am I convinced by the signs of the times that we are right at the end of competition, and just entering the reverse of it, "combination." Enough have gone on over out of competition into a species of combination to show us that it is good for them, a land of promise and to arouse us and to see the fact that if it is good for them it, in its defects, it will be good for us in its perfection. That there are difficulties in our way and also different from the difficulties of those who have already gone over into the combine, we gladly admit, for a surmountable difficulty is better than no opposition. A faint heart, it is said, "never won a fair lady." To be sure, they have capital already aggregating millions perhaps, but we have men, which creates all capital—if produced capital is combinable, so is the purpose to produce with the capital produced added.

I must not be misunderstood as intentionally drawing a line between the interests of capitalists and laborers for there is really none, they are only the different aspects of the same society; and as a man cannot get away from his own shadow, no more can capital live apart from labor or labor continue to live and not produce capital, especially in our high state of civilization. If all capital was obliterated today, labor would immediately produce more, so I argue that we have something upon which to base a combine far more substantial in its character than capital alone, take out the intention of an incorporation and what is left? Nothing of value. But the statement that labor has no capital, is not true—it has, and plenty of it, over and above the existing combines; but our efforts will be rewarded, I am sure, when we make an honest effort to combine, by seeing the existing combine quick to extend their motto. "Self-interest" until it shall read "The business interest of one is the business interest of all," and combines will join us in that interest. Our civilization has marched on and up beyond all precedents, and in spite of the nefarious methods of competition. America's progress notwithstanding impediments, has no parallel in the history of the world, and she needs and is fully competent and qualified for the assumption of self-interest of the combine this new center of power, as she was a century ago for a new form of government, which was, you will observe, the very antithesis of a monarchical form of government, under which Americans had lived up till the 4th of July, 1776, to a definite day and a definite hour of that day and a definite moment in that hour.

As a nation, we have come, in our progress, to a dividing of the way. We cannot go on any longer with competition, and we are disgusted with it and tired of it, both rich and poor alike. The few of the rich are learning to establish little coteries of their own, breaking up into little business factions that will ere long sweep down like the organized brigands of the dark ages and devour the feeble peasantry. Our fall, as a nation, if fall we must, will be from the zenith of our prosperity, and at the hands of these powerful business factors. They can and do evade our laws now and they will care for it less and less. But we are not going to fall, because we are going to combine. It is said that history is liable to repeat itself; then let us look into it as we would into a mirror, and see if it does not reflect our image and take timely warning. Had we room in our book, we would be most happy to take up particular nations, but you must do it alone and see the perfect similitude. However, as we have risen higher than any, our fall, if fall we must, will be more intolerable. Every student of history remembers that nearly all the old nations have gone into decline, decay and final oblivion, because of one class becoming so independently rich and avaricious and influenced by their private wealth, ignoring the other, and treating them with contempt; and at the same time, the poor, losing all interest in that government's welfare, (as we are doing), drifted away perhaps into small factions or peasantries, too feeble to protest. Now, it is so plain that if it could have been planned so that all could have maintained property in profuse abundance, it would have cemented these peoples into a continued unity of interest and this is just what we now undertake to do with The People's Industrial Combine. No more appropriate, and I believe no better, way could be devised than to utilize the idea of the familiar every-day combine, by making it apply to society as a whole. Of course, there will appear difficulties, but by friendly effort, they may and will yield gracefully. The facts are that something has got to be done, and the time to do it is upon us. We can do it now, for the real benefit of all. It may be too late any further on. Then, again, we that are living now want to enjoy its benefits; if it is good for our posterity it is good for us here and now and it is practically so near to us and within such easy reach, that it is like putting out our hands and it is ours to have and to enjoy. Why, a corporation is founded in a day, when the stockholders are ready to act, but as we have said they might talk that it was a good proposition for an age, just as has been done without controlling monopolies and the people yet go on suffering.

We find as a fact that personal liberty is circumscribed, and anticipated and circumvented, in society and in law, in every way but one, and that the most important, the root or great cause, viz., the accumulation of productive property to be used intentionally and as a power for evil, and evil is the real incentive for accumulation of vast property, after all, for not one in a thousand whose hearts are set on acquiring great wealth, want it for the good they may do with it, but rather for the power over others that it gives to them, the opportunity to buy. As boys and young men some may think an ambition to get rich is good, but they soon become undeceived. They get a start, then on to a snug fortune, then on to a great and still greater fortune. They are as powerless to limit themselves, being only children of a larger growth, (as they really are) as the tottering child. Society has as much reason to show kindness and lend a restraining as well as a helping hand, to them, as the parent to helpless and indiscreet children. Property, of course, is necessary, and there is a magic in private property. It is useful to the

individual in that he does not lose himself in society. Everyone must sustain his own center; he cannot get away from it any more than a man can get away from his own shadow. It is one of the proximate principles that go to make up individual life and one which every individual intuitively longs for. In fact it is God-given and society must needs nourish it. How? By defending every individual in his rights to it. So if it has been proven by past experience and observation that some individuals, unaided by society, have not shown themselves able to maintain or retain their property rights against competitors, then it becomes the plain duty of society, so it seems to me, to help them to maintain their property as a part of their identity—if not, why not. The kind of personal liberty that we have been bestowing upon the individual, that is, liberty to get all he can and keep all he gets, or to exploit any and all, has certainly proved to be an injustice to the exploited. Then, an honest inquiry suggests itself, "How shall we proceed to maintain the private rights to property and yet be just to all?" There is too intense and over-shadowing an interest at stake in this answer, to be passed over flippantly, so if you please, we will be very definite in our suggestion, making, as sharply defined as possible, a tangible proposition, and step by step, follow it up to a consummation. It may not seem necessary to clearness, but I will say that all present forms of our political government are to be perpetuated and continue just the same as they are now, or political government cannot go into the domain of industry, so no political change is needed, nothing but for it to go on and give title to every family of a homestead, subject to legal provisions in every particular like the present government homestead and consisting of, if in the country, from one-fourth of an acre to five acres, depending on the locality, a substantial house, lathed and plastered, of say 500 square feet of floor space, plans to be furnished by the family if they wish; if in a village, 4,000 to 10,000 square feet of ground, to be selected by the family, and a house lathed and plastered and of 500 square feet of floor space, plans to be furnished by the family if they wish. These facts and figures are applicable where new homes are built. Persons who already have homes will be expected to keep them and necessary ground in all cases, no matter how expensive, for these homes represent their ideal of happiness, and happiness is just what we all want; but if they are not up to the degree of comfort specified above, the government through the combine must improve them till equal with the new home. Homes do not need to have any money value, any more than other keepsakes, as they cannot be taxed or sold, not only because every one has a home of his own and does not want to buy, but because we are entitled by the Declaration of Independence, which is the soul of the Constitution of the United States, to industrial equality, it says to "life" (we have it) to "liberty" (we have it also) and from now on we must live up to having equal rights in "the pursuit of happiness." You and I would rather have a cottage forever than a palace for a year or two.

Further, to institute a combine including all productive industries of the nation, to be operated as a corporation or ordinary combine, but in the interest of all the people as stockholders, modified so as to specify a dividend of one hundred dollars per month as a basis of support for a family of five. In this combination all able-bodied men and women are to be employed in whatever capacity is most agreeable and is the best suited to both themselves and the combine, so that they may not only thus support themselves and families by and through co-operation, but each one will be enabled to be a support to the political government through the combine. This hundred dollars will serve also as a basis of private property and also in order to

amicably settle with all present owners.

It is found by the most reliable statistics that productive property averages an income of three per cent, and taking this as a fact, together with the \$100 per month for the necessary running expenses of a family of five, we find that each family of five must have \$40,000 to represent their interest in the combine, from which to draw \$100 monthly dividends—so we estimate that each family should have a home free of taxes, and \$40,000 of private stock in the combine, which amount every family of five must have. (Do not be nervous about the continued sufficiency of profits to pay these dividends, for its labor funds, remember and if America now produces sufficient, when every man is competing with and trying to hinder and down every other man and about half of the people idle, what will labor produce when all work harmoniously with and for all, co-operating as one in common interest. Now, multiplying \$40,000 by a number equivalent to one-fifth of all the people or population, will give the number of shares which will serve as a basis or unit of all productive property of the nation, thus changing the basis from the specie basis (that we may or may not have) to the number of people as a basis or unit. As Mr. Lincoln said, "This is a government of, for and by the people, a living, moving people, a basis of throbbing hearts, and hearts must be the basis hereafter." This basis of a live government must be represented by life, and not by our inert, lifeless dollar, as good and necessary as it is in its place. A military commander, on going into battle, thrilled his soldiers by saying these simple words: (mentioning their nation by name) "expects her soldiers to do their duty"—and how they did fight. So America expects her men and women to work and they will work, never fear, feeling that they have a working interest in all the property of the nation; yet their work is honorary, that is, it is on the identical plan of the soldier. The soldier does not fight because he gets fifteen dollars a month, but because he is a soldier; no more will the father of a family work for the hundred dollars dividend—but because he is a sustaining member of society, the larger the family. If it would not do to make a soldier's \$15 per month contingent on his fighting every day, it will not do to make the \$100 family income contingent upon working every day; yet if a soldier wilfully leaves the service of course his individual income stops, and if a citizen wilfully stops work, his individual income stops of course, unless he is excused by the proper Board of Health. The real effort of the combine will be to maintain the self-respect of each individual, as well as to provide him a home and material support. Uncombined labor now supports directly or indirectly the general and lower branches of government, so combined labor can much more easily support it, and will—by whatever methods the combine may decide upon and in the interest of all the people or combine.

It being needful that all officers of the political government, from township supervisor up to the President of the United States, shall be in close sympathy with, and active exponents of the people in their movement to acquire their industrial rights, during the transient period, therefore, I would recommend what may be called a "Home League" in every voting precinct, composed of all men, women and children old enough to know the meaning of the word home, holding stated meetings, literary and social, urging each other as workers to a greater activity and all voters to vote for no man for any office who has not pledged himself in writing to be an active, faithful and persistent advocate of the principles of the Industrial Combine, (a home for all the people and a working interest in the support of that home) and so mould public opinion, and it will soon crystalized in law or incorporated. Do

you want a home?—then organize and work for it, for of course we must get it through the regular channels of our civil government, as there is no need of any other way. Industry must have an organization distinctly industrial that is unmixed with politics. Remember that it takes both labor and capital to complete industry and when I say that labor and capital must be under one management it is equivalent to saying industry must be under one management, that is industry cannot be associated with politics without loss to both, any more than the State and the church can be associated together with loss to both and if you will stop to think you will soon see that there is no more semblance between politics and industry than there is between Church and State, a confederation of politics with either capital or labor is certainly irrational and another thing you will see, is that all our labor trouble has come upon us because we have been putting confidence in politics to help us when it is and forever will be incompetent to help us just as politics proved to be long ago unable to help the church. Politics has a distinct field of operation and industry has another and just as distinct. Some may get this fact more clearly by an illustration. A man is using his lawn mower (it does not make any difference whether the man is a democrat or a republican, a saint or a sinner) the mail man hands him a letter from the county clerk, he opens it and finds a patent for this beautiful lawn and the cottage that stands on it also a certificate of stock for \$40,000 in The People's Industrial Combine, also a hundred dollar monthly dividend and a notice of an industrial meeting at the hall at 8 o'clock that evening for the purpose of selecting the most suitable man for industrial foreman. These foremen meet at a later date and select an industrial commissioner the commissioners meet in due time and select an industrial State governor. The governors meet and select an industrial national president. My effort always is to be explicit and distinctly show that a time has now come that politics and industry must be separated for the best interest of both; labor and capital are kindred in nature but there is no natural amity between politics and capital or politics and labor, isn't now, never was, and never can be, for the relation is an enforced relation.

"Property" means a man's very own, not a sentiment, not an opinion, a fad or a fashion because its a necessity. He must have a home as his very own, to keep; he must have an interest in the productive property of the nation as his very own, to keep; and to such an amount as will entitle him and his family to a very real income to keep; these he must not be permitted to sell—even if he wants to, any more than he would a member of his family, he that sells away a necessity of life, sells the life, and that which takes away the necessity of life takes the life for all live by these things, who would die without them, or become a special burden to or a charge on society; hence society is only protecting itself and human life in stipulating that these things are not salable—no other interference in buying or selling may be needful or desirable.

It may not seem necessary to clearness, but it may be pleasant to recapitulate how the people can come into actual possession of all property and that without the least injustice to present owners. There is no way but for the people to buy, and the present owners to sell; the sale as we believe will be desirable and voluntary on the part of both and both actuated by the motive of self-interest: A fair price can be settled upon, say three per cent basis as an estimated average of productive property. On this basis the seller can lose nothing legally, for he has a lien on the property sold. In this case there is added to his security this unique and peculiar fact that he now immediately steps over by the side of the buyer, pledged to

make the payment more certain; that is, he is one of the people now in their corporate capacity, hence one of the buyers of his own property. I think it is, and will be hereafter, honorable on the part of the buyer to look at all points in a trade from the seller's standpoint (for observe, we are done with and have abandoned competition in business and have entered the domain of combination) as well and make the security guilt edge. On the other hand, the buyer can lose nothing, for the property bought has actually paid, say three per cent, on the purchase price under competition; how vastly much more will it pay under unobstructed co-operating combination? For, though he did not have a cent in money, he had character as a skillful producer and also the genuine confidence of the seller, who has put the buyer in possession of the property because of his business skill, ability and character, and now, without any ado, without stopping a wheel, and to all intents and purposes, the property belongs to the buyer—the corporate people—contingent only on paying for it, and, mark you well this unique fact, both the buyer and seller is pledged for the payment and the real self-interest of all comes in now to co-operate together to make this three per cent property more and more productive, so as to pay for it as speedily as possible. Again let me calm you down, that is if you stand aghast at the magnitude of the indebtedness, by pointing not only to the equal magnitude of the actual property we the buyers now have in possession, which in the possession of past owners actually paid 3 per cent., but also the actual magnitude of our ability now freed from the head-winds of competition. By co-operative effort to so operate and increase the actual productiveness of farm and factory beyond all previous precedent, so the magnitude should rather be an inducement to us to accept the combine. We did not hesitate to go to war with Spain because we were too big. No, our magnitude made us bold and helped us out in every way and intimidated Spain. Take another view. The son need not hesitate to buy the old homestead, knowing that he is soon to get it anyway. Again, the buyer and seller both have a mutual friend in the political government, which occupies some such relations to them as an attorney for both.

The people crystalized in their political relation (political government), so similarly meeting the same people crystalized in their industrial relations (the corporation). These entities are so entirely different from each other, yet not at variance; the people in their capacity of political government reaches down a helping hand to the people in their corporate capacity or industry, giving help for help in return, yet as two distinct personalities having two distinct and dissimilar missions. We each and all possess in the political government political liberty. This was as complete and emphatic the moment after the Declaration of Independence was signed as it is today or ever can be. That is a completed formation of republican government. We have shown that political government is incompetent to take charge of for the purpose of operating any industrial matter whatever, but outranks industry in military or court matter, which, however, is always pending some decision; which when reached, political government or military jurisdiction naturally ends and surrenders its charge to industry. Hence its jurisdiction is always tending to an end, so it is not applicable at all to industry, which must be permanent in character and continuous, distinctively so, and forever continue producing, continually returning consumption to supply. So combines get their incorporation papers from this political government for good and sufficient reasons, but the government does not follow the combine on into business matters, neither does the combine officiate in the office of the Secretary of State or

any other governmental department without getting out of its appropriate domain, and vice versa, but mark you that these incorporation papers do connect the government with that combine, and itself and in a sense this combine emphatically becomes a citizen. Hence it is as practically impossible for the political government to disinherit a well-behaved combine as it is for this same political government to disinherit a well-behaved citizen, and it is just as logical and wise to advocate anti-citizen as it is anti-monopoly. So I conclude that the incorporation papers serves only to connect the political government and we become industrially free as a combine, and in the same sense and to the same extent that we are now politically free. But I am especially gratified that the people's industrial combine comes down to the conception of the children of any age and touches us so like a mother, so tangible and so real and loving. We all understand what a home, a house of our very own and a dividend of one hundred dollars per month for every family of five living in that house (the reason I always speak of the family of five is to harmonize with the beautiful home idea), to feed and clothe us, that is, to spend as we please or fancy, so as to take away any semblance of restraint, the perfection of freedom, and so thus maintain our individual identity and not get lost in this great busy world, as the poor are now so liable to become (and the rich are ever liable to become poor). Finally, I am content, if I have taught the children of any age this lesson of the century, and now as I look down from my desk and along the long aisles and see that the children are all in and remember at the close of this day that all my pupils have a real home and plenty to go to, I can say with the infinite satisfaction of a teacher who has done his or her best, "School is dismissed."

THE END.

APPENDIX.

Voting was not an easy problem for our forefathers to solve. During the interim between the close of the revolutionary war and the adoption of the Federal Constitution (a space of about five years) this matter was seriously and sacredly discussed, and the line for good and sufficient reasons was drawn at all male citizens above the age of twenty-one. Two objections were made to the word "all"—one that it was not fair to the rich to give the penniless the same power at the ballot-box, and they made a great step toward industrial equality when they finally made such liberal concessions and adopted political equality, and continued the Declaration of Independence as virtually a part of the Constitution, with its equality to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. From this distance we do not appreciate the struggle of the then, over the property qualification of a right to vote. The other objection to the word "all" was that it was neither safe to trust the ignorant or fair to limit the wise to only one vote. We have become accustomed to it now so that the President's voting along side of the most unlettered is accepted as fair and final by both. Will you, the sons of such magnanimous fathers, refuse industrial equality now that we have got to it (as emphatically as our fathers had to political equality) and because of a financial fear of loss to ourselves. Our fathers made no mistake in trusting the people with the rights of voting; neither will we in trusting the people with a home of their own and an equal chance to make a living and to the living after it is made. I am aware that equality in industry is about as difficult to adjust and fix in the minds of the people now as voting was then, but when once adjusted and fixed, as combines are unintentionally fixing it now, on the basis of dividends, it will almost immediately recommend itself, as did the basis of voting recommend itself to our fathers. Has it ever occurred to you that neither of these principal objections to political equality can be made against industrial equality. To the first, do not the poor need to eat and wear as well as the rich and do not the poor labor as well and as faithfully as the rich. Both are entitled, clearly, alike to food and raiment; either would die without it. But not so without political equality, as is shown by the continued existence of the women who do not vote. Let the male citizens above the age of twenty-one do all the eating and wearing, and see the result; or take the second objection and let the so-called brainy men eat and wear according to their brain capacity, and those almost devoid of brains starve accordingly. What a ludicrous lot of mortals we would be, or rather immortals; and it would be questionable which would die quickest—the fool, from starvation, or the wise, like Aesop's frog. An abundant suf-

iciency of food being unquestionably assured to the rich cannot seem a hardship to the sons of fathers who were magnanimous enough to waive property qualification and mental caliber and take their stand among the poor and the ignorant in the interests of advancing Christian civilization. Then, when we bring it home, by the fireside, and try to think it out with ourselves and God in its numerous phases, it will be revealed to us that to trust another is the one vital qualification of being trusted ourselves, and it is a thousand times better to leave as a legacy to our children the basic fact of industrial equality, in which it is clearly demonstrated that it is to the self-interest of each to have the concern of all, than to leave to them the legacy of the millions of a Rockefeller, a Morgan or a Carnegie, in the midst of a competitive mob, who look upon it as a privilege—aye, a duty—to strip these lives and leave them penniless to starve. Don't say there is no danger. You know there is, and will be forever until competitive chaos or industrial mob law gives place to the law and order of a fraternal combine, in the pure self-interest of all, and self-interest in industry and self-government politically go hand in hand down the ages.

Christian perfection is thought to be necessary for the attainment of industrial equality. This view does not seem to be in harmony with God's methods of sending rain or other blessings on the evil as well as on the good, does it? Christ was teaching the multitude (Matthew v: 1), all the people (Matthew vii: 28)—if any of them were perfect, surely not all—all of them. In this discourse we here notice the matchless preamble to an industrial law. This preamble reads as follows: "What man is there of you whom, if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone, or if he ask a fish will he give him a serpent, if ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him (Matthew vii: 9-11); following this preamble comes the law now actuating the corporation, the combine idea. The industrial co-operation of the individual. The actual self-interest of each, whether good or bad, perfect or imperfect, clearly including all—hear it—"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them for this is the law and the prophets." This the multum in parvo, competent to, yea, is, solving the whole industrial problem right before our eyes, as seen in the little combines and trusts, but sadly enough are still competing against each other and us, now rid them of this competition and we have the industrial combine. In fact that Christian civilization has been approaching slowly, persistently ever since it first echoed from this mountain in Galilee until its echo has reached America and founded here a republic and a congenial, industrial, cultured people as I believe in a receptive mood, ready to yield to and accept its full fruition. After we think of it, salvation from sin, as some of us like to believe in, does not relieve us from attending to business, does it? Then it cannot be or become a necessary qualification to the complete possession of a home and agreeable employment in the support of that home. Surely the all Father does not differentiate between the so-called good and the so-called bad in industrial matter, He giving seed time and harvest to all alike, because we each have need of all these things, and it is not like our Heavenly Father to make material necessity contingent upon a spiritual attainment, hence it is as much the privilege to accept, that we do not say that it is as much the duty of the infidel to step out and work for industrial equality, and the "as ye would" law; it is a business perfection, and has in it the acme of industrial happiness, and as such it does not conflict with or in any way lower our appreciation of spiritual Chris-

tian perfection. Our believing it cannot harm you, or deny to either me or you the high privilege and full benefit, this complete law of combined industrial life, or prevent us from harmoniously co-operating together to obtain it or the impartial enjoyment of the combine when obtained.

Abolitionists educated the people to see that slavery was inconsistent with American freedom, but they did not free the slaves. Prohibitionists are educating the people to see that whisky is evil, and that continually, but prohibitionists must be discreet enough to enlist a force that is fully competent to eradicate that evil. The civil war was not begun to liberate the slave, but the liberation of the slave became a military necessity, and was so recognized by Douglas Democrats and Lincoln Republicans who fought side by side to save this republic. So now Prohibitionists must not exclude temperance people, and let me ask who is not temperance if it was simply a question between temperance and intemperance everybody would be on the side of temperance, but it is a question of making a living to most of us, and to run a whisky dealer out of business is unfair and unjust; we must provide him a way to make a living and the People's Industrial Combine comes to the rescue and does that very thing.

Civilization is engaged in producing fruit to eat, clothes to wear, etc. These productions belong to those producing them. It is clear that if these producers stop producing, go on a strike as we say, they must necessarily cripple not only the employer (if we must have one) and diminish his ability to pay, but the worst of it all it decreases the supply, and causes the innocent to suffer with the guilty. Will we forever continue this insane system of loss to the whole family, when a way to help it is offered? Adequate, able, aye, fully competent to adjust right relations in this disturbed condition of society. The people do not need a capitalist, an employer, any more than they need a king. They only need their own managers, just as any corporation. The stockholders directing their own financial business affairs for their own self-interest and in their own way.

Sympathy, that priceless crown of rare jewels, is not fading, it is appreciated as ever by the inner hearts of the American people, but it has been forced aside into a secondary place by the popular greed for wealth. Avarice, like a courtesan, has for the time being stolen the attention of the husband and the beautiful virtuous goddess of liberty has been compelled to seek the privacy of her room, and Uncle Sam has a time of flirting with a dancing girl, and like Herod of old, was led into a trap and spurious honor compelled him to take the life of his friend, John the Baptist. So the greed for wealth, the mad rush for dollars by the already rich and more especially the aspiring poor, who so badly want to be rich, crushing virtue into the dust, trampling sympathy to earth at sight of that bleared-eyed monster wealth; fighting for it, competing for it, little caring whether the injured innocence of the masses of the common people have a stick or a crumb left. Would to God that I could paint an appeal to these mad ruffians to cause them to remember that they have a virtuous and neglected wife at home, the love of former days, longing for a return of the love and sympathy of those old days.

I am glad for one view of the great commission instituted by President Roosevelt in the case of the strike in the Pennsylvania coal fields, though it miserably failed to settle anything, rather unsettled everything, by developing the appalling fact that trusts could do, have done, and will continue to do, just as they please, regardless of Presidents, Congresses, courts or commissions. This fact so vividly brought out so that all begin to see, serves but to

create sympathy for these helpless miners, and as we sit and think we begin to see that their helplessness is also ours as soon as any occasion arises to victimize us. Then is it not apparent that as their slavery is ours, that their cause is also ours, and shall we not unite in one common cause for freedom and adopt a method, not of red-top boots and tin swords as boys against a flock of geese, but a method tantamount to the emergency, magnitude and dignity of men and the occasion. If these trusts have developed anything, if they have shown us anything, it is that they can be and are kind to their stockholders. I beg of you, my people, to look at this fact. Its our only ray of hope, and it does hold in its effulgence the solution of this vital industrial problem. The time of tin swords or fighting in any violent way is irrelevant and not to be longer thought of. This problem must be settled by the sterner arbitraments of peace. Diplomacy will permanently settle, but war never did settle beyond a time when the vanquished foe could recuperate. My fellow-countrymen, war fight competition is all out-classed by the People's Industrial combine.

Probably the most important point to make in the study of the Industrial Combine is a clear-cut, well-defined distinction in our own minds between selfishness and self-interest in industrial matters. If we thoughtlessly take it for granted that they are the same, we fall into error and will fail to see anything but selfishness in its very worst form and inevitably class ourselves among the brutes, yet unhumanized; whereas self-interest is as beautiful, desirable and heavenly as selfishness is ugly, despicable and—well, words fail me, as I am not a sailor, so must content myself by saying that selfishness is the very essence of depravity. It is the animal, the brute, before he or she developed into a man or woman. The farther we get away from selfishness the deeper we get into our own individual self-interest, hence the nearer we come to fulfilling the design of our Maker. Self-interest is the soul of Christian civilization. Listen, self-interest is also the soul of the individual combine; continue to listen, a righteous self-interest is the soul of corporation, it is the self-yielding and admitting another and another and still another, until five are included in and admitted to the benefits and the Secretary of State simply christens the child and calls it corporation. Better have called it industrial self-interest after its father, for it was begotten down there by the development, the yielding of the unselfish heart. The world has been waiting for this development, this object lesson, this gifted child, the trusty corporation, which has taught this longed-for lesson to trust that you may be trusted. The wiser ones have learned it and are adopting it. Why stand we here idle and agap. I dwell longer on this point than on any other, because it is the most difficult to learn, so accustomed have we been to the associations with the stinginess of selfishness, that we think it necessary to our industrial existence, and when I say that it is not, you dismiss the subject by carelessly saying, the Doctor is in earnest, no doubt, but he is mistaken. But, sir or madam, what are you going to do with the teaching of the wise men everywhere, who do see and have become convinced, and have gone on over into some one or more of these combines, and no matter if you do not believe me you must believe them, both in their precept and example—aye, you do believe them, you do believe me; and its not worth your while to lie about it another time. Never say again that men are too selfish to combine in their own self-interest; it is a contradiction of terms and also shows that you yourself are not very far removed from the brute, hence not yet a man but still an animal. Persuasively, let me say, that self-interest includes all the good, selfishness all the bad. We cannot get away

from ourselves, our personality, no more can we from our self-interest. It will bring to us all the desires of industrial happiness that selfishness has been forever promising to us, yet has never supplied. What is a thing worth to us in the realm of humanity unless we can share it with another? The combine recommends itself as the only way to properly make these shares just and equitable to others that others can also be just to us, and the infidel needs this friendly justice the same as the devoted Christian; both are gentlemen and should treat each other as such; both are equally obligated to do their part; and both are entitled to equal consideration and industrial reward. The fact that we may part company when we are done with industry need not spoil our enjoyment of industrial equality in this life.

We come to you with a definite proposition, not a lot of platitudes, or to vote this or that party ticket, but to incorporate. Can a strike or a lockout ever occur among stockholders? I may not be able to convince you, but I can hold up the combine and it can and will convince the doubtful. Combines are like a big brother tossing a baby sister around just to show that they can and are not afraid. Until competition is driven out of the field, the Combines, like individuals, will have to fight, to compete, and do not blame them for doing the very best they can for their stockholders; you know they would be to blame if they did not do their best; they would not be entitled to our respect or cause us to have faith in their ability to do anything and everything in industry that ought to be done.

I believe it was Mr. Lincoln who said, "The strongest bond of human sympathy out of the family relation should be one uniting all working people." The Industrial Combine includes all men doing their duty in their own individual niche as working people, and the relation referred to by Lincoln, next to the family, is the larger family, the co-operative family. Wages are inimical to family life. Dividends are always understood in the smaller and must be continued in the larger family, society as a whole.

We cannot blame any one, rich or poor, for despising drudgery, but do we not labor intensely, hunting, dancing, playing, and call it pleasure? Surely, then, it is not the labor we hate, but the wage idea, the menial idea, the drudgery idea; these ideas will stick and humiliate as long as one man owns a wage slave. Combines declare dividends, and wages exit, and drudgery ceases to exist. Menial labor is not thought of. Each will feel honor bound to do their fair share of the world's work. Duty will be accepted as a privilege. The Combines are working out our ideals for us. Let us do as they so plainly show us how; we can cross the Jordan in a day, if we will.

The commission to settle the great coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania closed its investigations. It was instituted and carried forward with candor and honesty, and the Nation stands appalled with its developments. It is no comfort to the thoughtful rich to discover the nakedness, the innocent helplessness of labor, made all the more pitiable by its sad effort to be brave and refuse to acknowledge its defeat, and braces up to still follow a forlorn hope. It is true there does not seem to be anything else to do. They do not want to surrender to capital, and, strange to say, capital does not want them to surrender, for capital is doing well enough, and practically says, "Let the fight continue." It is significant that Mr. Darrow comes so very near the Combine Idea, and yet not see it. Why could not his heart have carried him just a little farther? He pathetically said: "It is not a demand to shirk work, as is often claimed to be the case. It is a demand for the rest of the individual; to have a better life, a fuller life, a completer life; and this, like

everything else, depends upon your point of view. There is only one standpoint from which you have a right to approach this question, and that is what will make the best man, the best American, to build up a nation where there will be no more strikes and no more violence. Other gentlemen may measure it in dollars and cents; I shall not."

Truth, every word of it; yet what hollow mockery is the whole proceeding of the commission if it must stop there. These same miners and wage receivers everywhere carry the same sad hearts with them to their work that they did a year ago, knowing that perhaps within another year the same strike will be necessary. A wounded soldier loved his emperor and said to his attending surgeon, "Probe a little deeper, doctor, and you will find the emperor." Why did not the arbitrators probe just a little deeper and find a remedy, find industrial independence for all the people, find the co-operation and use it, find the Combine Idea and so save the life of the patient people. Anything else is charlatanism. Call it heroic treatment, if you will, but our duty is imperative. We must go for the bullet, no matter how it got there. An arbitration poultice, no matter if made of wages that take all profits without leaving capitalists a cent, spread over this bullet wound, is quackery. That foreign body, that bullet, must be removed or our patient, our Republic, dies. We must go ahead and not forever keep going back to wages, high or low, back to strikes and lockouts ad infinitum; back to beggary, back to fighting for a chance to work, back to competition, or as the proverb puts it—return as a dog to his vomit and as a sow to her wallowing in the mire. Why not combine and be men, manly men—"men whom duty to their country know." What sense is there for Darrow or any other man to talk about building up a nation where there will be no more strikes and no more violence among flesh and blood men and on this side of heaven, and at the same time throw up breastworks and dig entrenchments and enlist the chiefs and braves from bootblacks to engineers to fight, to strike, and what then? to humiliate the employer and compel him to surrender, and what then? chain capital to the chariot wheels of conquering labor, and what then? demand wages equal to all the profits that's in the business, and what then? let capitalists go on a strike, tit for tat, and what then? After capital has had a turn at them let labor take it up to the end of time, and one might well wish that it would not be long, but why continue this foolishness another hour, when the combine is just at hand, and we need only to put out our hand and take it; better to say it is already ours and we have but to enter into possession without any humiliation to capitalists or a moment's further humiliation to laborers, and thus, and only thus, can the strike that Mr. Darrow refers to be prevented.

I am not criticising Mr. Darrow. I only wish that he and Mr. Roosevelt might go a little further and find a remedy as well as to locate the disease.

Wage slaves are the cheapest lot of slaves that were ever sold from an auction block. The master buyer or employer doesn't pay a cent for him, and if he quits the owner don't lose a cent. An African slave frequently sold for a thousand dollars, and if he quit and went to Canada the buyer lost a big round thousand dollars. Ah, but you say the African slave had to work, and we don't; your employer knows better and so do you. Hunger, cold and wretchedness of either you or your loved ones will bring you to your knees in time, mark you. The principle of one man working for another for wages is the cause of strikes, lockouts and all our labor trouble, and is basely wrong, unnecessary and uncalled for in American

civilization with political equality and liberty on the one hand and an open way to avoid wage slavery shown by the object lesson of combines with dividends on the other.

Contrast our thralldom to capital to the thralldom of our fathers in Boston Harbor, when throwing a bit of English tea overboard on account of a few cents tariff to the existing usurpation of a principle, competition now fighting us for more and more. It has not only secured the few cents tariff that caused our fathers to rebel, but they take an eighth, a fourth, a half, aye, it takes it all and simply feeds us so as to be physically able to work for it another day, and fearing lest we remember that we are blooded stock of Revolutionary strain, it combines to make our thralldom more and more positive. If Renzie, in his memorable address to the Romans, said, "Rouse, ye Romans, rouse, ye slaves have ye brave sons? Look in the next fierce brawl to see them torn and if ye dare call for justice, be answered by the lash," and had cause to say it. How much more cause have we to demand our inherent rights in politically free America. If we arouse in time we can get free.

I grant you that combines did not and do not aim at The People's Industrial Combine. Neither did the colonists aim at this great republic. How frequently men aim at one thing and hit another. These combines have as definitely shown the people how to combine as though it had been their intention to do so and to lead the people up to it. Shall we reject it because it was not designed by them to help us? The few colonists referred to combining against English oppression much as a few sensible men combined against oppressive competition laid the foundation for self-government, so these few sensible men have laid the foundation for industrial co-operation and real self-interest.

If starving is an inability to get food it surely is not rational for a people who have the control, the legal right to prevent it, to any longer indorse as a public policy an industrial condition of things that gives to one man the necessity of the life of another, for he who controls the necessity of life controls the life, or he who withholds or takes the necessity of life away takes the life.

The thoughts that filled the mind of the soldier were not the strife in which he is engaged or hatred of the foe, but it was of home, sweet home. The better the home the better the soldier is a fact. I read an incident of the Crimean war; the soldiers expected to storm a fort next day, yet they sang. What did they sing? "Annie Laurie," of home and the loved ones there. "Home-made heroes" they were. Ah, the world does not sing enough; let us have a home to sing for, and then sing. "Life is too short" for resentment or selfishness we know better than we do. Shall we longer deny a home to the homeless simply because it is irregular or because he or she does not belong to our set or say he is only a soldier or she is used to doing without the comforts of life.

While we are thinking of our homes in the army and navy I remember they are not all there; the nation is full of them. The men and women who are struggling against adverse conditions of both poverty and riches, carrying heavy loads, yet facing the world with a smile. Ah, shall we forever confront these heroes and heroines with a frown?

"Experience is a dear schoolmaster, but fools will learn in no other." Yet we must have a little sense if we learn by experience. Political parties and politics in general terms have been promising for a score of years to adjust the right relations between labor and capital, with fatter capitalists and lankier laborers, ad infinitum. If experience can teach us fools at all, has it not taught us that politics can't manage industrial affairs, and is it not just as plain that

combines can, and that politics are not adapted to or designed to manage industry, but combines are, and because if for no other reason politics don't do it and combines do, Congresses and Legislatures and you and I are all in the same boat, all depending on industrial management, and as we have not had sense enough to manage our own industries, a few capitalists have had sense enough to combine and do it for us fools, "where are we at?"

A bill has been introduced to create of the Indian Territory a State and call it Jefferson. That has the true ring to it. It kindles patriotism; it reminds the people that it was Jefferson who wrote that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, and set in active operation that form of government that trusts the people with political power, that is to manage their own political affairs. Can it be now considered in the light of a venture to trust the people with their own industrial affairs?? Jefferson's ideas when applied to industry as he applied it to politics is the combine idea. It has made the nation politically and will make the nation industrially, and is ours for the claiming.

Before American independence it was doubted whether a people could govern themselves politically. They said: "Those of my nationality might be trusted, those of my guild may be competent, those of my church may be good enough, those of my profession may be intelligent enough. Those that are in settled homes of their own may be rich enough, but to trust foreigners and of all nationalities, the uncultured, the irreligious, the uneducated, the homeless poor—it can't be done" Aye, but it was done, and it is well that it was done. So now these same people can be trusted with their own industries.

Let me observe that competition in business will soon be a thing of the past. The combine age is on, and it is irrational to suppose that industries combining will still and forever compete. Competitive selfishness is fading out as the darkness before the coming day of the self-interest of the combine. Clearly self-interest is not a broader selfishness, but rather the exact antithesis. We have been looking with longing eyes at the men above us; now the combine offers a helping hand to those below us.

The money interest that all the people have in the whisky business takes the pray out of their prayers, and we may just as well quit praying against it until we put away the strange god, Money, as an object of worship. But that is just what the People's Industrial Combine proposes to do, to put both money and whisky where they belong if one or both cause physical or moral ruin it is no use to pray unless we step out and do, for the Christ of Christian civilization has told us exactly what to do, and describes exactly the peculiar business sensation that comes to an infidel as well as a Christian in these remarkable words, Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them. It is no use to pray and then go and "divy up" with whisky or wealth.

Dickens said a long time ago that "Gin drinking is a great vice in England, but wretchedness and diet are a greater, and until you improve the homes of the poor, ginshops will increase in number and splendor." We have tried all other remedies in vain. The protected home is the only way.

The want of confidence between employed and employer will forever cultivate a spirit of distance exasperating to both. What does a Union mean if not? I will not trust the employer and the employer feels it and resents it of course. I do not take sides with him, for he is to blame, but I do ask both to look at this enforced condition as entirely useless to both and irrational when exposed to the light of the combine idea. When an employer is as useless as a

king would be, to compel a free American citizen to be loyal to his republic or to hire three men to compel the fourth to work.

Christ can raise the dead. He did raise Lazarus from the dead, but He told men to loosen the grave clothes; men could do that, and Christ still expects men to do all that they can or are authorized to do, hence He said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." He will do anything for us that we cannot do for ourselves. So it goes without saying that He will not do for us anything that we can do for ourselves. This is as true of the nation as it is of the individual. This, as a principle, holds good in all national affairs. Political government will do for the individual only what the individual cannot do for himself. When political government devised the corporation, government tacitly said to the individual, unite, incorporate, and so manage your own industries in your own way and for your own self-interest, so what business has government now to usurp the right it has given already to the individual.

2. The sense of fairness implanted in the mind and heart of the American people will never permit them to adopt government ownership—then again it is not in the genius of a republic like ours, which so particularly recognizes the individual in citizenship, must intuitively recognize the individual in ownership. It's like the parents of a large family planning for children. What can we do for the eldest, and the next, and so on to the youngest. No planning is complete until the whole family is considered, and without partiality. So with our larger family, the nation, we cannot be partial.

Combinations are usually feared because they threaten to advance prices to an exorbitant height, but a bill has recently been introduced to prevent combines from bringing down prices lest small competitors be run out of existence. Can't the people see by this groping in the dark that politics can't manipulate industry, try as it may, and on the other hand can't the people see by the success of combines everywhere that industry can manipulate its own affairs and in its own way and for the real self-interest of all of its stockholders?

I hope to attract the attention of the legal profession especially by a quotation from the Iron Age in its January issue from an address of a Judge of the United States Circuit Court:

"To the extent that such subsequent issues represent increased value, due to management and operation, I would encourage, by every feasible method, its division in fair proportions between those who have furnished the capital and those who have done the work. I would embody the basis of such division in the contract of incorporation, so that it would operate as a contract right, and not as a mere bonus. Experience has shown that there is no way to so satisfactorily mitigate the struggle between capital and labor and none so just as a fair division of the harvest after both the reapers—capital and labor—have each had their reasonable hire.

"A program such as this is not, in my judgment, either radical or impracticable. It will be opposed, however, by those who look upon corporations of any kind as a menace to public liberty and by those who look upon restraint of corporations of any kind as an invasion of industrial liberty. It will be opposed by the men who are temperamentally apprehensive, by the men who believe the present good times to be due to present conditions and deplore interference, and by the men who still wait their opportunity to get rich out of present methods of trust organization. It will be opposed by those who have given to the subject no study, and by those who are incapable of giving it a candid study, and by those who thrive in practicing frauds on public opinion. It will fail until

public opinion is reached and educated. But public opinion will, in the end, be reached and educated. It will be made to see that a country is not made great by becoming rich; that a government is not secure whose sole policy is to realize large dividends to capital and a large wage to laborers and to keep the peace between them; that there will be found firmer depths than these for the foundations of permanent security. We will then begin, in reality, to rebuild the industrial edifice—a new edifice made necessary by the change of time—but on the old foundations. We will anchor it, where our fathers anchored theirs, in a general proprietorship, so widely spread among the people and thus securely buttressed against hate and envy that time and change will thereafter dash in vain against the security of the State."

The learned Judge is right. Read again and again until his idea gets clear to your own mind and sinks down into your heart. He is a friend of labor, and sets the whole industrial problem up where we can look at, and like a mirror we can also see ourselves, our difficulties and how to cure them. You may not care to listen to me, but he commands your respect. Read again and see how his prophecy is completely fulfilled by the People's Industrial Combine.

A reconciliation of rich and poor, of labor and capital, as important as it clearly is, is not as important as continued conciliation, a bringing together, a consulting of industrial interest, the adoption of the combine idea as a conciliatory measure will lift up the people, will place them on a high industrial plane where they can see that the industrial interest of one is the industrial interest of all, and each can consistently move forward to the full extent of their intellectual capacity financially, physically, morally, socially and mentally into the broad light of Christian civilization, and into "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye," as an industrial business motto.

There is only one way to get rid of competition, and that is to buy it out, and the industrial combine enables the people to do that very thing. Government ownership by coercive measures is very different from co-operate ownership by the voluntary consent of the owner. Convince a man against his will and he holds the same opinion still. We must win the good opinion of the public, else we will forever be liable to recurrences of mutiny and revolt. Of course the State has always the right to arrest and punish for the breaking of a law, but we are not suffering so much from broken law, mind you, as we are from the privileges of law. It is perfectly apparent that nearly all the usurpations of capital are clearly legal. A capitalist would be very foolish to lay himself liable to arrest and imprisonment. You must not deceive yourself longer by thinking that capitalists are a lot of law-breakers. We must see that the hardships from which we suffer are legal, and the proper procedure is to make the combine universal in its application, then there will be no one to complain.

It is visionary to expect any permanent results from any temporary measures, from any modified form of competition. We know that combination absolute is the only remedy. Then why longer trifle with measures that can only aggravate by their continued procrastination. If these private combinations would wait I would despair of getting the masses of the people to act in their own interests, but we plainly see that combination is not going to wait and give flesh and blood men time to develop into angels. We must act as men if at all. It is not a matter that can be postponed for one, five or twenty years or until people get better. Combines are at your very door, and you must act today. What can I, what will you, what dare we do with them?

Let me introduce an up-to-date clipping from a newspaper edited by one of the brainest men in America, to show that no definite plan to settle the labor question is in sight. "The Republican party does not know any cure for the trust evils. Its best thinkers and statesmen are feeling their way toward the right course to pursue, slowly and carefully, but sincerely; and they have got as far as to propose the fullest publicity in regard to the doings of all great corporations possessing power enough to be sources of danger if that power were sought to be used for the public injury rather than the public good. That is about as far as the party is ready to go. The legislation already had has tended to aggravate the evil rather than to help it, has tended to make corporations greater and more centralized rather than merely associated, and the lesson has taught prudence and the wisdom of making haste slowly. But if there be a sound reason why Democrats should oppose trusts and Republicans should not, what is that reason? If there be no reason then why not accept Republican promises to antagonize the evil that trusts do as frankly as Democratic protestations of a like nature are accepted? We are all in the same boat and where we are bound for nobody knows." A dismal but tremendously true statement of facts. Listen, the People's Industrial Combine holds the solution of this exclusively industrial problem.

You can begin now and continue to advocate industrial combination and not change your party or politics. It is only the transfer of what is proving to be a grievous burden to honest politics, onto the broad, willing and competent shoulders of industry, which is able and can carry this, its own rightful load, as gladly and as naturally as the lover carries the love of the sweetheart, because each has an affinity for, aye, belongs to the other, and alike as inseparable as capital and labor. What a pitiable spectacle do we behold as the different State Legislatures and the Congress of the United States, politicians trying to farm, to manufacture, to mine, to run railroads, steamships, etc., telling industry, telling the men that do know just exactly how this that and the other must be done. Politics dictating to industry! The novice dictating to the expert! Yet there seems to be no other way. If politics does not presume to direct then all are lost in the fog. All did I say? No, not all. A few men still know the points of compass. These combines have blazed the way for civilization, and we do well to stay by the trail. Neither need you join any church or change your church relation. The combine is simply unloading onto industry the incubus of finance, and forever leave the existing inconsistencies of financial business of its votaries outside the church doors, so that altar service becomes a practical obedience to the command. Therefore, if thou bring thy gifts to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift. If I were to look about me for a suitable object to compare the illimitable broadness of your, our of politics my mind and heart would take as that comparison the possibilities in industrial liberty when freed from the thralldom Combine Idea. I would gallantly open its gate and bid you enter and see for yourself.

Profit sharing among equals is all right if it were possible, and it is, but what consummate folly to think of profit sharing between a big man and a little one, between an owner and his hired man, between an employer and his employe, between a master armed with all rights and privileges and a defenseless slave is but deception worst deceived. Look at a big, fat trust bringing a poor, lank, lean laborer with two bits worth of stock, under a pretense at profit

sharing and 2 per cent. dividends. Monstrous! Labor being compelled to form into unions and strike is bad enough, but what detestable deception to bind labor hand and foot with a shadow of an interest in a big corporation so that he can't even strike on account of his visionary interest in the concern. He can't even complain. His little insignificant stock acts as "hush money." He can't talk. His mouth is closed by his supposed financial venture. Talk about "buying birds in the bush," that would be wisdom compared with taking stock in a combine where stockholders are not equals. We are equal politically and religiously, and we must be, and soon will be, equal I hope industrially, anything less is "a delusion and a snare." The scheme of the big men is to get enough of us little fellows tied up with stock until we can't strike, and then say to the other little fellows, take my price for your work or quit unless you want to become a stockholder in my combine. My stockholders must have an increase of dividends, and so I propose to decrease wages to get it for them. This is dividends taking the place of wages with a vengeance. This is profit sharing with a big man, one little man with both dividends and wages amounting only to what wages alone formerly amounted to, and only a bare subsistence, is used to reduce the wages of the others to starvation rates. Our fathers did not need a big man for King. Neither do we need a big man for a capitalist. Our fathers became Kings of equal rank. We must become capitalists of equal rank, and then, and not till then, can profit sharing become possible or desirable.

If you love unions or have any confidence in them. These big men by this species of deception will inevitably destroy unions and develop an association like that between the lion and the devoured kid. We stand equal politically under the stars and stripes, but industrially we are subjects of a monarch. Wages mean monarchy, dividends implies a republic, is adapted to, fits into, and has the spirit of a republic, hence all the crookedness in our industrial matters have grown and are growing out of the fact that America is a republic politically, but is still a monarchy industrially, and the way to obtain our industrial independence is first to consider capital as the product of labor, hence capital belongs to labor. 2nd That labor and capital together constitute industry. 3rd Industry must be and become under one only management. No mystery about that, is there? But what has become of strikes and lockouts? Who could strike if they wanted to? Who would want to strike when all are alike interested? 4th This one management, the people in their co-operate capacity, authorized to buy up all productive property from present owners and pay them for it (see Remedy) with the genuine intention of being fair to the poor without being unfair to the rich. When all parties in interest get together face to face or on the plane of equality there is no difficulty too great to be amicably settled (how easily have strikes been settled in that way) when each have discovered that the others were men of like passions and ever-returning wants, not laborers or capitalists, not employers or employes, not masters or slaves, but men equally obligated to God, equally obligated to the flag, equally obligated to each other.

I recently saw an editorial in a popular newspaper on homes in the country for the poor, but the editor failed to give any way for the poor to get them. The glowing description of the desirability of a cottage by the brook is little less than exasperating to the homeless mother of restless children and wife of an overworked discouraged husband, none of which can see any other way to get this editorial home except to disinherit some other mother, turn out of doors some other family of children, or steal another man's job,

just as though there were not homes enough to go around or jobs enough for every man. A leading clergyman said to a Boston audience that the herding of people together in apartment houses is as wicked as hell, and yet, reverent sir, how do you propose to help it? Surely not by every man bowing at your altar or going to your church any more than the editor could promise a home and a job to every one that would join his political party. Yet, I would not even moderate the vehemence of either clergyman or editor. They may use all the verbiage of a sailor and not do the subject justice, but what miserable, miserable, miserable comforters, to learnedly sit back and diagnose the disease, tell the suffering patient what is the matter and discourse on how nice it would be to be well and never offer a remedy, and take coat and hat and the patient gasps, "What can be done?" "Oh, well, if you have enough vitality you will pull through, but if not—well, good day."

We are loth to admit the fact that private combines have bled and are bleeding the industrial citizen, and have proved able and will forever be able to bleed the government. Hear what Representative Jones of Washington said in the House February 19, 1903: "The ship-building trust is in a position to take the Secretary of the Navy by the throat and say to him that he must accept its bid or get no ships." I would not inflame the people, but I would do a kinder and a thousand times wiser thing by showing them that if a few men can get such power out of the corporation, such beautiful results for the stockholder of this or any trust, this same beautiful result is ours for the asking.

No battle has ever been fought between Labor and Capital that has brought out the skillful maneuvering of both, as the Pennsylvania strike, convincing all thoughtful minds that fighting is not the way, and absolutely worse than useless. Capital lost nothing by the famine in coal; Labor gained nothing, and never can by that kind of tactics. Why follow a forlorn hope another inch? Why crawl at the feet of a god that Labor has made, and say, "Baal, hear us; Baal, hear us. "Labor has produced all capital, and all capital must, from now on, belong to its maker. We need every bit of it in our business and so we will just keep it, incorporate, organize our own trust and distribute all our productions among ourselves—no strikes or lockouts; simply keep what we make." We must end industrial strife; not mend it or maneuver and attack from another point, and so try to patch up defeat by a grist of anti-trust laws. Trusts are growing faster than unions, so it is worse than idle to longer fight. identical and same reason, can forever continue to defeat labor in a If capital, through the combines, can and are now, they, for the fight, so why fight at all. When a man already has a thing, why fight for it. We already have our mind and muscle, and absolutely own all that it will produce. Let us act with business common sense, and keep it. There can be no reason for the producer to produced \$4 and give \$3 of them away to a privileged bystander, the so called capitalist. It is no real kindness to him, and he gives you no credit for it; in fact, you don't deserve any credit for doing such a foolish thing. You do not do it as a kindness; there is emphatically no reason for it; it is only a silly fashion.

There is no way after all to so surely avoid the evil, the wrong, as to be busy with the right. There are so many little byways, little parties, little schemes, all inadequate to cure; in fact, they are not intended to cure, but rather to wound, to hurt, to inflame. Why should reformers expect to cure by opening up old sores and cutting and slashing everybody that does not worship their idol or party. We all know there is a right way; it may not be my way and it may be thy way; so let us get together and find that right way.

If any of us do not care to go to Christ just yet for salvation, we can go to Him confidentially for an industrial business principle, as perfect in its adaptation to all our industrial business necessities as his air to breathing, his water to drinking, his food to eating, etc. industrial business principle is found in His words: "Whatever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them." You may not care or know how to love God—here is a man; love him, combine with him; do so today. You may not have meant to hate your brother man, but you have made him think that you hated him by competing against him, quit it, combine with him, get acquainted with the man, find out his needs and give him what he needs—a home, employment, your esteem, your confidence; trust him that he may trust you; give him a home that you may keep yours or get a home of your very own; give him employment that you may have employment; give him your confidence that you may have his confidence; treat him as a man that he will treat you as a man; take him in as a stockholder that he may accept you as a stockholder—if he can afford to do so, you can, be you rich or poor. The secret in getting together is found in getting together; in being good, is to work at it. You have recognized your neighbor as an equal citizen; now get acquainted with him as a man, a brother; combine with him in all industrial procedures that he may combine with you. Being so intimately acquainted with men made in the image of God, you will be in better position to acquaint yourself with Him (Book of Job 22: 21).

We must recognize the rights, yes, even the opinions, of others. We seldom know or realize the worth of a thing until some one tries to take it from us. If you were rich, would you want to be reduced to poverty? No. If you were poor, would you want to be left in your poverty? No. Then do as you would be done by, whether poor or rich, in your industrial matters. My real interest is your real interest, and your real interest is my real interest; then why down every man in a trade; why compete, why fight, why strike, why lockout. The talented Mr. John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers, came nearly advocating it in his speech in Chicago. He said he was "not one of those who made war upon capital or denounced it; that there was never a time in the past nor would there be in the future, when the difference between the laborer and the capitalist would not be settled if they would but come squarely together and tell the truth to each other." You do not have to join my church or political party; but to be treated fair by another we must needs to be fair to the other, be he poor or rich. The People's Industrial Business Combine shows us the way, the Christ way, of doing and of conducting industrial business.

The right to own property in fee simple is a Saxon idea, but every true American of any nationality believes in it; that is what they came to America for, and they will not consent to surrender this individual right to municipality, State, or Nation—a home of his very own is his ideal. Connected with this, the best way to make a living for his family comes to him—a manly satisfaction and a life worth living. We are grateful to those who have advocated government ownership. They have educated the people to see the utility of co-operation, the feasibility of a single management of all industrial affairs. They have failed, however, to see that political government has long ago provided a way for the people to attend to their own industrial affairs—the way of corporation. These good people have thought that something must be done to stop the growth of combinations and have innocently turned to the political government that gave these corporations birth, and is justly proud of her children. A mother cannot turn against her children, especially when

she knows that they are right and are only misunderstood. Our government ownership friends have not discovered that industrial business is not in the domain or province of political government at all. Political government could not own, in fee simple, from the very nature of things; it takes the man, the individual, to own. We do not say, "My deed runs my farm; my patent owns my homestead; my city owns, my State owns, my Nation owns. These are all figures of speech. It is the man that literally owns and political government, or the people in their political capacity, devised the corporation for the express purpose of putting the man, the individual, in possession of all productive property as his own inherent right, only stipulating that in case of war all men and all property are subject to the political government; but political government, being inanimate, has never and can never legally or rightfully operate productive property. But so much the better for the people; they can, by incorporating and co-operation, do it a thousand times better as individuals.

The "Chicago Tribune" has recently stated, editorially, that there are one million persons in the United States who are drug fiends. There are several million more who are tramping towards the drunkard's grave, and there are several million more who are daily weakening their nervous systems and creating tendencies to disease by the use of tobacco. There are also millions feasting upon more or less diseased flesh. Immorality, crime and insanity are all increasing in the same startling proportions. Increasing, did he say? If increasing, then the means used to stop it are inefficient, no matter what those means are, and it is only a matter of time until ruin runs riot. Hence, how dare we longer refuse a measure that will stop it! I declare it boldly and an appeal to your judgment that the People's Industrial Combine will stop it. There is not a point referred to by the "Tribune" but is amenable to business, to straight industrial business. Is it not mockery, is it not exasperating, to set religion at work, to experiment with moral suasion, to blame politics, and whine about the selfishness of people? Anything under the sun, but adopting the only measure that can stop it. Religion, moral suasion, politics, each and all are efficient in their respective field, but it belongs to industrial business to stop these crimes against society, and nothing else can; nothing else is adapted to do it, and the Christ of Christian civilization is not going to hold a few faithful, religious people, a few moral men and women, a few loyal, upright, honest politicians, responsible and let the industrial business world go free. Industry must carry its own load and do it alone.

When every girl has a home with a real or adopted mother, and that mother released from household drudgery, so that she has time to be kind and cultivated and loving; and every boy skilled in some useful employment, ready to do his part of the world's work, growing up with a real or adopted mother, so as to be able to appreciate a wife, both knowing that at marriageable age they, by the definite planning of society, the larger family, will have a separate home provided for them as surely as time. It is implanted in the heart of every father and mother to so provide for their children if they are able, and by the co-operation of the combine they will all be able. Take an added view of the possibilities of this home as a center of purity, morality and Christian culture. I refer to the theater and the church. Christian people are forbidden the theater, and why? Is it not because of its associations with the immorality of the dance, brothel and dive elements—a catering to the obscene, unchaste and impure, depriving the church people of the enjoyment of hearing the best voices in song, of the best skill in instrumental music, best

athletic performances, etc. This will all be changed by the available self-interest of the individuals that go to make up the combine, when the good of the theater will be available to the church and the vital piety of the church will not be out of place in and will christianize the theater.

I am reminded that self-interest, to be the most powerful motive to high endeavor, must be fairly applied and the failure of such application, you may argue, ruins the family like equality of the Combine idea, in placing the efficient workman on a par with the inefficient (as a profit sharing, etc.). I claim for the combine idea it is not only just but humane (and so will you when you get away from the slavish nature of wages, that you may now think is inevitable or unavoidable, and up to the free and Christian conception of dividends). I recognize the law, "If a man does not work neither shall he eat," with which the Combine idea agrees. I recognize also another law, that if a man is not loyal to our government, neither is he entitled to protection as a citizen. The matter of his protection hinges upon his loyalty and not upon whether he is rich or poor. So eating, in the law referred to, must be measured by the capacity of the stomach of the worker and not by his pocket-book. That law may prove too much to suit some, for it does imply that if a man does work he has a right to eat; that cannot be denied him by a richer than he. One man is supposed to eat about as much as another and has a natural right to enjoy it as well, and needs it just as much; so has one loyal citizen a right to protection and needs it just as much; so has one citizen an equal right to vote and needs it just as much as another. Every man is expected to work and properly and completely fill his niche. If he does, is it proper to give him one hundred square meals a day and another only one; or to give him a hundred votes and another, one; or to declare war, if need be, to protect one, and send our regrets for another one? No. Then why draw the line on any necessity of life, for he who is permitted to control a necessity of my life controls my life, and society, the larger family, has no right to desert me or turn me over in my helplessness, to be exploited by another. Incentives are proper and right in family life, but to give one what fairly belongs to another cannot be an incentive to the other, hence manifestly unfair to both; and equality of wealth is the true incentive to family life—it is American; it is in harmony with a Republic.

The argument is, Dividends in any corporation, if great enough to pay all the bodily needs of the individual stockholder, actually places these individuals on a basis of industrial equality and clearly a dividend greater than the bodily need amounts to a superfluity to the stockholder. He can do nothing with this excess of dividends, except to squander it or take more stock, and this is folly, for he already has enough; any greater accumulation is unnecessary, for the laudable objects of accumulation, that is, laying up for a rainy day, have ceased to exist. There can be no more rainy days in industry. They are provided for by the Combine. We have a corner on industrial climate, exactly as we had on the political climate in 1776. Every man, rich or poor, high or low, rejoiced over our political equality then, have ever since, and will forever, because it was sufficient. So every man, rich or poor, high or low, will rejoice over industrial equality, because it is and forever will be sufficient and just enough is enough of anything.

Custom turns boys out at twenty-one. They enter the arena to fight, to compete for a living. Nine-tenths of them are brave, good boys. They have belonged to the family Combine until now. The different members of the family have never found it necessary to compete with each other, so they do not know how; they have not

learned to fight. Have you ever asked yourself the question, Why should they ever learn to knock down and drag out like savages? Why could they not continue to practice the beautiful training of the ideal home until ripe old age? The two prerogatives of every well regulated family, namely, directing and restraining are as needful the day after the boy is twenty-one as it was the day before he was twenty-one; if not, why not? And society, the larger family, should continue with the same kindness of administration in these family prerogatives, restraint and directing. If so, where does competitive fighting come in? Evidently, nowhere. But the family idea, identically the Combine idea, receives the man at twenty-one into a prepared home, to live over again or continue the family training.

A tramp is a financial failure. Rockefeller is a financial success. The tramp has one vote; Rockefeller has one vote. So they are, in a sense, politically equal. If they vote together it counts two votes; if against each other nothing. I have in my letter to boys and girls shown that in the industrial equality it is not proposed to make men equal in all respects. Nobody is so silly as to argue that political equality makes the tramp and Rockefeller equal. God does not make any two men equal, so we need not try. But we have already recognized the propriety of all men being politically equal, and we go still farther in recognizing the greater propriety in men being industrially equal—why greater? Because we live by eating rather than by voting. Combines recognize the equality of stockholders, and nobody is injured by it, or calls it unfair any more than political equality; rather industrial inequality is notoriously unfair and, like monarchy, it must now yield to the fiat of a Republic. The industrial self-interest of stockholders in a Combine blends into and harmonizes with, and is the natural sequence of self-government.

Placing Labor and Capital under one management, a laborer may say, "Oh, well, that only means that Capital will boss; it always has and it always will." On the other hand, the Capitalist, with hair on end, "Oh, that only means that Labor will boss, and I am afraid; one is as right as the other, and both are wrong." Rivalry in industry is as silly as rivalry in the family, because husband and wife have tried rivalry and failed to live in peace; must they go on and forever quarrel? A unique illustration comes to me here: A spirited animal attracted special attention on the boulevard, and was bought at a high figure. Finally, the buyer discovered that the animal was blind, and in a rage went to the seller. The seller meekly said, "Don't mention it; I knew it but supposed you would not want anything said about it. The animal goes with the confidence of an automobile; the driver's eyes are enough." It is a reflection on a man to quarrel with his wife; if he had so little sense as to marry a woman with a single fault he ought to be ashamed to mention it to her or any one else. He may find it out, but don't mention it; the public need not know it. Or if the wife marries a faultless man, she, for shame, should never say a word to him or any one else about his faults, for, as he was faultless before marriage, she and all these she tells about them must know that she made these faults. Don't mention them; it is a reflection on you. The same is true respecting capitalists and laborers. Capitalists have developed the faults of laborers, if they have any faults, and laborers are directly responsible for any faults of capitalists. The bonds between them are indissoluble, and any rivalry is no longer to be thought of, any more than rivalry between wife and husband. Both must be under one management, not wife management or husband management, but family management; not labor management, not capital management, but industrial management—the management of the People's Industrial Combine.

General Sherman just before the close of the great war over

Negro slavery, gathered together the flower of the Western Army preparatory to his "march to the sea." Suppose some one had said, "General, what do you propose to do?" "Do? Why I propose to crush the life out of this rebellion." "But how?" "Why, I propose," replies the General, "to rendezvous my army here in Northern Georgia, and force these rebels to terms." "But how?" "Well, if they don't come to my terms, why, my whole army will just quit, we will go on a strike and will not do a thing until they surrender." It is pitiable, but a fact that Labor, with the power to overcome every obstacle in the march to a greater victory than "marching through Georgia," only opposes to capital a strike, a quit. It is not only a poor way, but it is no way at all. Do not get offended at these plain words. You know that if I were a capitalist and only taking the part of capitalists, that I would not be telling you these things. I would not take the trouble to tell you of your folly any more than the Confederate General would have taken the trouble to tell General Sherman that quitting, striking, was folly. There was a sensible way for Sherman to act and he acted. There is a sensible way for laborers to act, and that is to go forward into their just possession of all property; and the way to the Combine is ten times plainer than Sherman's way to the sea. Sherman not only saw what ought to be done, but he did it. So we must not be content with seeing what ought to be done, but we must do it.

Political parties, distinctly political, may be all right. We are not discussing politics while in its proper sphere, but when we discover it like a stray dog after sheep, it is plainly so much matter out of place and deserves the fate of the dog found with wool in his teeth. It is absolutely painful to self-respecting citizens to see political parties proposing to do everything industrial when it can do absolutely nothing. It is pitiable, but apparently true, that nothing but common sense is left out of their propositions except that it may be clean politics and loyalty. so busy have politicians become, with fees and salaries and tariffs and protection of infant industries and strikes and lockouts and injunctions and trusts, etc., all out of the domain of politics and as clearly in the domain of industry, that is, the people in their corporate capacity, the People's Industrial Combine.

I am aware of the fact that I have galloped through this book much like Paul Revere (of Revolutionary times) did, through the country side and for the same purpose—"to arouse the people." He paid little attention to his horsemanship, and the people paid less; it made so little difference who he was. It was the matter of his message that thrilled both him and the people. I have paid, perhaps, too little attention to elegance of diction in my haste to arouse the people, yet I have faith in my endeavor. The common people heard him and the common people will hear me. The episode that followed his awakening put these common people in power; and we have that power yet, and though this expression of power, this political form of power is not (as has been demonstrated in the light of subsequent events) adapted to the management of industrial affairs, yet that same element of power, seen in the ability of the people to govern themselves politically, is now available for us as a people in our corporate capacity, and shows conclusively that we can govern ourselves industrially. Our forefathers demonstrated the fact that we did not need, had no use for a political king, so now, we, their sons, are competent to demonstrate that we do not need a capitalist to measure out to us industrial oppression, and that industrial equality today is far more kind, pertinent, necessary, permissible, than equality of votes, citizenship, law, order. The proposed proper adjustment of property will speedily demonstrate; in fact, it

is all that is left us, but, thankfully, it is enough; it is abundantly enough. We are truly living in marvelous times. Two years ago, when we began writing this book, the vast majority of the people thought that all industrial affairs were amenable to political government, and that it was the *fault* of politics rather than its inability to control corporations. Many still hold to this opinion in the face of honest effort on the part of Congress and the President to give the people industrial relief, but it is now beginning to dawn upon the people that even the President is not a big man, that can hold industry in his hand, as a child does a toy; even corporations themselves feared his power, but now no corporation "is so poor as to do him reverence." It has been argued that as he was commander-in-chief of all our armies and navies, and could control all property for military purposes, thus commanding all men and their money, then surely he can take Mr. Rockefeller by the nap of the neck, metaphorically speaking, and put him down, and he will "stay, put." Not so. It has been and is being suspected that there is some subtle element, some industrial force of gravity, that gives weight to Mr. Rockefeller that even Roosevelt could not lift. Yet, as we have repeatedly said that Presidents and Congress have earnestly and honestly tried and failed, and it is being clearly seen that corporations have a legal right to say to President, Congresses and courts, "Thus far, gentlemen, shalt thou go and no farther." When we come to think of it, a State, through its Secretary, cannot give five men the right to do a certain industrial matter, such as to build a factory, a railroad, etc., and then usurp the right to run it for them. A State clearly cannot give a right away and keep it, so if corporations, at work legally, are not amenable to existing law, and any infringement upon corporate rights are as sacred as infringements upon individual rights, hence logically will be unconstitutional; so we wilt down, in presence of the great gravity of our delima, which appeals to the very life of the American people. The revealed fact that Rockefeller, Pierpont Morgan, and corporations everywhere are doing all that they want to do legally, according to constitutional law. This fact is the most appalling and frightful revelation ever made to us as American freemen. Many of us have been suspecting its existence for years, but it remained for the Roosevelt commission to prove it. That coroner-like inquest, after sitting for three months on the dead body of Political-industry, brought in a verdict that the deceased came to its death by natural causes. No wonder that the humiliated, disheartened people stand agap, spell-bound, amazed; and in the stillness of the dead, ask, with bated breath in pleading tones, What shall we do? It was a last extremity that caused the President to empanel this jury, hoping that its findings would reveal some fact of this mysterious industrial death, that would give to political government, through its courts, its Congress, or its President, some jurisdiction over corporations. I say again that nothing in the annals of American history has shown the utter helplessness and inability of politics to manage industrial affairs. This great commission was the first of its kind and will probably be the last. Their deliberations were only advisory; it did not and could not carry with it the force of law. They have only advised the lion to be more mild and lamblike and the lamb to be more fierce and lionlike and fight a little longer and die a little harder; but die you must. Irony, to be sure, but true to the letter. I could not have the heart to invite you to this Politico-Industrial funeral were it not to show you the gladsome life beyond. Thousands of our live men, dead to competition, are still living and alive to combinations, and so have their industrial happiness guaranteed to them by the Combine. Those witnesses that Mr. Mitchel introduced served but

to add torture to a case that had been already proven over and over again during the long, long night of industrial darkness, but this darkest hour portends the day—the day when the people, all the people, are as industriously equal as we are now politically equal. There different ways and perhaps better methods of procedure, but this is one way: Let the Secretary, Mr. Cortelyou, now a Cabinet officer, Department of Commerce—significant, but perhaps better to be called Department of Industry—recommend (his recommendation carries law behind it, if need be) that the Secretary of each State issue corporation papers to the whole people of that State upon their application, much as he now does to any five men. Thus the people may become legally incorporated and ready for business, and that without any political estrangement or special political action. Of course, to prevent any possibility of any unfriendly legislation, it is immediately necessary that the voters vote for no man for any legislative office who has not obligated himself in writing to aid the speedy inauguration of the People's Industrial Combine. The truths I have tried to make agreeable to the rich as well as the poor, to the wise as well as the ignorant, are inexhaustible in their agreeable resources, and as I climb to a high altitude from which to take a new prospective, still they mount and the possibilities of the Combine adds new beauties as we come into the possession of those nearest us; there is yet more beyond.



